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THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXI.

July 1900.

*...man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
ing by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage
forth new positions to the world: ~~they~~ were they but as the dust
under our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not
to be cast away.—MILTON.*



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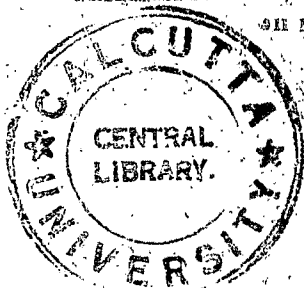
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 221—JULY 1900.

ART. I.—THE GREAT ANARCHY.

*Stories of the Adventurers in Native Service, in India, during
the latter half of the 18th Century.*

(Continued from No. 220—April 1900.)

APPENDIX I.

A FEW details that could not well be fitted into our text may yet deserve record, as illustrative of the private affairs and personal fortune of some of the adventurers of the Anarchy. They are not of any special bearing on the state of India during that wild period; nevertheless those who have followed the main current of our narrative may care to know more about the persons who principally influenced its events.

The author is indebted for access to most of these sources of information to Mr. Stewart Sutherland, grandson of the Colonel Robert Sutherland of whom glimpses have been afforded in dealing with the career of General Perron. With Perron Sutherland was connected by marriage, having espoused the General's niece. Perron and the elder Hessing had found wives in the family of Derridon, still existing as small landed gentry near Agra; * and Mrs. Sutherland was daughter to Hessing and Anne Derridon, his wife, who remained in India when her sister, Madeleine, accompanied Perron to Europe, and became ancestress of several families of distinction in France, as will appear later.

Besides the land still held—or held within the last few years—by the Derridons, there are not many material monuments of the adventurers left in India. Amongst these few may be mentioned the tombs of the elder Hessing and Sutherland; with the Church and Palace built by Begum Sombre at Sardhana.

* When the author was District Judge at Agra—1872-9—members of this family came as litigants into his Court. They dressed like Europeans, but spoke Hindustani.

THE GREAT ANARCHY.

Hessing's tomb, in the Padretala (or Catholic Cemetery) of Agra, is a pretentious building of red sandstone, a copy of the famous Taj Mahal on a reduced scale. There is a long historical epitaph in English, giving a summary of the life and adventures of the deceased.

Sutherland's remains lie under a less assuming monument in a garden at Muttra which probably belonged to a residence of his now destroyed. Some small wreck of landed property remains, from the rent of which the maintenance of the tomb and garden is provided; the balance going to good works. This officer was a Scot of good birth, once an Ensign in the Black Watch, who transferred himself to Sindhia's service and was made Brigade Major by General de Boigne and afterwards promoted to command a Brigade. He enjoyed the friendship and confidence of the General, as will be illustrated by some letters to be quoted hereafter. He had also the honour to co-operate with Colonel the Hon. A. Wellesley in 1800; and was in command at Agra when the Fort was surrendered to Lake by the younger Hessing. Sutherland died soon after the peace.

The Church and Palace at Sardhana were built by the Begum, a few years before her death in 1836, the architect being an Italian in her employ, Major Regholini. The house was inherited by the Begum's step-grandson, David Dyce, who took the name of Sombre and married the Hon. M. A. Jervis, daughter of the 3rd Viscount St. Vincent. Mr. Dyce Sombre dying in 1851, his widow married Lord Forester and during her life-time the house and grounds—seventy acres in all—were kept up. They have since been bought by the Vicar Apostolic of Agra, and are to become the site of a training College for young native Missionaries. The Palace is a fine building, standing on a basement eleven feet high. The front portico is approached by a vast flight of steps opening on a wide landing. A hall, 42 feet by 36 feet, leads to the various apartments, the private chambers of the Begum being entered by a winding staircase. Above all these and other bedrooms is the terraced roof so much affected in hot climates. The wings at the back, containing other apartments and offices, enclose a court-yard or small garden; and the front of the house is 160 feet in length. In the principal reception rooms used to hang a number of portraits of the Begum's friends, by Beechey, Melville, and other local artists—Sir David Ochterlony, on his white charger; General Cartwright; Baron Solaroli; and Colonel J. R. Troup, husbands of Dyce-Sombre's sisters; Dyce-Sombre himself in a sort of Court-dress, with a Papal decoration. Amongst others was a small portrait-group, stiffly painted, representing the meeting of Lord

Combermere and the Begum after the fall of Bhurtpore (1826). There were also half-lengths of Generals Ventura and Allard, the successors of de Boigne and Perron, by whom the Sikh army was trained to fight the British in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the central hall was an ambitious piece, a life-size portrait of the Begum in advanced life, seated on a sort of throne and smoking her *hookah*. A well-printed head of a debauched looking fellow in Moghul costume represented John, son of the famous George Thomas, who was brought up by the Begum and married to the daughter of an Armenian in her service called Agha Wanus. On issuing from the park-gate one finds the road to the "Camera," or country house occupied by the Begum until the completion of the above-described Palace; and it was here that Bishop Heber was received by her in 1825, as described in his once well-known book.*

The Begum always maintained the position of an independent Princess, and showed hospitality to the military and civil officers of the neighbouring Station of Meerut. There was a dinner-party every evening, at which Regholini, Colonel Dyce the father of her subsequent heir, and the Reverend Father Scotti, the Chaplain, were usually present, along with their Mistress; a band of music was in attendance, and the best wines of France and Spain circulated freely.

Such was the splendid termination of the slave-girl's career—a romance scarcely to be outdone by the most inventive fiction. When she felt the approach of death, she divested herself of all her property, by deed-of-gift in favour of young Dyce, subject to various important charges. The military fiefs were confiscated in consequence of her demise; the brigade being at the same time disbanded. Enough of the private and personal property was left to make a handsome provision of some £20,000 a year for the heir—which, indeed, ultimately proved the poor fellow's ruin. Very substantial benefactions were at the same time made to various religious bodies and undertakings.

The estates attached to the Sardhana fief were originally estimated to yield a revenue of Rx. 60,000 (six lakhs) per annum.† (The Rx., or conventional Indian £, was then worth over 20s.) On the Begum's death all but the Park demesne were brought under the public fisc, which led to a long and costly litigation terminated by an award to the effect that the confiscation was an act of public policy with which the Courts were not at liberty to interfere.

* *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, etc.* 2 vols. 4to, London, 1828.

† Afterwards increased by the Begum's assessments.

It is a side-light on the state of the country in those days to learn that the British officials—as mentioned in the present text—at once reduced the assessments by twenty per cent. As the British of those days professed to take some $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the net produce, we may find some difficulty in estimating what share may have been left to the Sardhana tenants. Cesses, transit-dues, and factory-taxes, to a considerable amount, were at the same time swept away. If this was the condition of a mediatised State, in the heart of the British territory, under a ruler of exceptional intelligence desirous of standing well with the Government (and professing the Christian creed), what must have been the state of less fortunate districts before the introduction of British ideas and standards? Twenty years ago, when the present writer was at Meerut, the land in Sardhana had largely increased its cultivated area, the assessment had fallen to an average of Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per acre, and wages had increased 150 per cent. over the rate current in the Begum's day. The five sub-divisions are now among the most prosperous rural tracts in Hindustan.

The annexed table will show the pedigree of the late Mr. Dyce-Sombre, who—as will be seen—was not of kin to the Begum—

Walter Reinhardt, *al.* General Sombre ;
m. a Muhamadan lady who survived
 him and died a lunatic.

Aloysius Reinhardt, *al.* Nawab Zafar-
 yab Khan, *m.* daughter of Colonel Lefèvre :

Anne Reinhardt, *al.* Sombre, *m.*
 Mr. George Dyce, Agent to the Sardhana
 Estates.

David Ochterlony Dyce-Sombre, *b.* 1808 ;
 inherited the property, and *d.* with-
 out issue, 1851. *m.* Hon'ble Miss Jervis,
 who *m.* (2nd) the late Cecil, Lord
 Forester.

Of the Church—called “Cathedral,” though when the author knew the place there was no Bishop—there is not much to be said. Besides affording the unwonted spectacle of a large place of Christian worship in a Hindustan village, the building has no special claims to notice. It is, however, of respectable dimensions—170 feet long, with a central dome and two lofty spires at the East End: it was consecrated by the Vicar Apostolic in 1829. The interior is paved with marble and relieved by mouldings in hard stucco. In the back of the

north transept is a group in white marble, by Tadolini of Rome, placed there by the gratitude of poor Dyce-Sombre. Pyramidal in form and exquisitely carved, it represents the deceased Princess seated on a platform surrounded by allegoric figures. Round the base stand life-size statues of civil and military officers; panels on the sides of the pedestal set forth the dates and deeds of the Begum's life, with historical groups in high relief commemorative of the Begum's court and camp.

II.

By the courtesy of the grandson of Colonel R. Sutherland, some interesting letters of General de Boigne have been consulted, which throw a new light upon the General's retirement from the service and return to Europe. The letters are written in a clear, bold hand; the English in perfectly intelligible though somewhat French in idiom. They cover a period of about nine months, *viz.*, from the General's last movement on Lucknow to his embarkation at Calcutta.

The earliest bears date "Lucknow, 2nd April 1896," and begins by expressing anxiety for news, as his correspondent must "be aware how interested I am in the successes and prosperity of our Prince;" Daulat Rao Sindhia, who was then—it may be noted—at peace with all his neighbours. The General then enters into some details about the administration of the Force, and earnestly exhorts Sutherland to "be kind to every one of the officers, attentive to them as far as they deserve it, to give them their due, to promote in rank and pay those who may be entitled to it by their good services and merits, but discharge those from whom no good may be expected—better to have few good than many bad." He deals with the cases of officers who have been giving trouble and threatening to resign; and adds, "detain nobody by force; everyone has a right to be free and look out for himself: in doing so officers shall never be wanting, I hope to be able to provide the brigades with many." But he stops suddenly: "I will not decide nor interfere.—*I have left the army*—on account of bad health, but not to plague myself about the details of the Service. I am, indeed, incapable of attending to any business." The letter ends with complaints of the writer's ill-health and probable intention of proceeding to sea under medical advice, adding an expression of confidence in Sutherland's "sagacity and judgment for all what concerns the good of the Prince and of his service."

From this conclusion, and from the entire omission of the name of Perron as his possible successor, it may perhaps seem to follow that the General regarded Sutherland as the future commander of the Regular Army. Had this happened, the

whole course of subsequent events would have been affected to a degree which can only be conjectured. If Sindhia, under advice from a British officer, had complied with the policy of Lord Mornington, who can say if the authority of our nation would ever have been extended to Hindustan?

For many months General de Boigne lay at Lucknow in constant suffering and danger. Congestion of the liver and fever racked his frame and prevented him from taking an interest in the stirring events of which Lucknow was the scene. Sir John Shore, the British Governor-General, finding it impossible to wean the Nawab, Asaf-ud-daula, from the life of frivolous debauchery under which he was rapidly sinking into the grave, resolved on trying the effect of a personal interview; but the letters contain no mention of his visit. The only concern of the invalid is for his old master and comrades, mixed with a creditable solicitude for the two daughters whom he had, it seems, left at Aligarh. "Protect and defend them," he implores his friend; "and support my interest in everything in which your assistance may be required." A landed estate in what is now the Eta District had been assigned for the support of the girls; but the anxious father intended to return as soon as he was restored to health. If he should have to go to Europe—"which I hope may not be the case—it would not take me more than 18 months; knowing that Europe will (not) nor ever can suit my temper nor constitution . . . Be happy!" he ends, "and believe me for ever, etc."

The next letter is dated the 1st September; the rainy season was ending and the most trying part of the Indian year at hand. But the sick man does not mend: his "illness has been so great for these several months past that I thought it was all over for me . . . inconceivable how severe have been my sufferings . . . God be praised! all is for the best." He writes a long letter: this one has more than 1,000 words, all thoughtful and wise. In spite of the declaration of April that he has left the Army, his plan of a sea-voyage is only to go round from Calcutta to Bombay, there to join "the Prince" at Poona, and return to "Indostan" with the 1st Brigade. "Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to hear of the successes and prosperity of the Brigades raised by me and which give bread to one hundred thousand souls at least." Sutherland is exhorted to conquer his hostility towards the Muhamadan Paymaster, and warned that it is the Hindoos, and not the Prophet's followers, who are the real foes of Europeans in India. Other advice and suggestions follow; but nothing like interference; compliments to Lakwa Dada, the Brahmin Minister soon to fall from power and end

his days in exile: and the long epistle ends with remembrances to the Officers "and all the Men of the Army: it will be agreeable to them to see though yet far from them I have them yet in remembrance."

On the 13th, the General writes again, "having not for these six months past enjoyed a single moment of good health," he has incurred the reproaches of his friends for not answering their letters; but he has now a new and much-esteemed medical adviser, Doctor Hare, who gives good hope of recovery when the cold season has had its healing effect: "if he can prevent my getting worse before the end of October." He has heard from Lakwa Dada, to whom he begs Sutherland to announce his intention of writing soon. "Tell him all accounts are to be delivered; at my departure it was so ordered in General Orders: so long I am alive I have nothing at all to do with accounts, it is the business of the Mahratta Chief." Once more Sutherland is exhorted to be reconciled to the Moslem Paymaster; "it is better to have him for friend than for enemy; if you know your own interest you will follow my advice." He is sorry to hear that Mr. Dawes has left the service to plant Indigo; this is a falling industry; he gives details, adding that he himself has lost "four lakhs rupees;" but is too ill to care. (Dawes returned to the service, and died fighting in the battle near Poona where Holkar defeated Sindhia, 25th October, 1802). The General ends with saying that he gets the Poona news from the *Bombay Gazette*, and telling his correspondent to "be happy and successful."

On the 7th January 1797 the General writes from Calcutta: before leaving Lucknow he had been mending, but the damp cold of a Bengal winter has brought a relapse: "Few men can have suffered more than I have this year past, particularly since my arrival to Bangala." He has taken his passage "both for Bombay and the Cape of Good Hope . . . if I am so fortunate to recover my health, I shall proceed immediately to Poona to join the 1st Brigade and meet the Prince; if I remain as I am, I am obliged to go to the Cape; then it will be six or seven months before I can be back to Coel, which God forbid it should be the case! . . . Let me proceed to Poona or to the Cape, I trust and most warmly recommend you to continue your attachment, as you have done till now, to the Prince, to the good of the service, and indeed to maintain the fame and credit we have obtained at the sacrifice of so much blood and so much fatigue." In all which we may, if we please, observe either an actual commander, fully intending to resume his duties after a brief convalescence, or a man who knows that his health is gone, and who bids

- farewell to the scene of his labour, but "casts a longing lingering look behind." Of the reality of the General's breakdown one can hardly doubt; in this very letter he says he would give up all his wealth—considerable as we know it to have been—if he could emerge from a state of suffering to which, as he quaintly says, "death is a thousand times as preferable." He proceeds to give some instructions about the Eta estate—"my Jaghire in the Province of Jalleyssore"—and to commend to Sutherland's protection "my women, my reputation, and all that concerns me: if you have gratitude you will prove it; I will say no more." General Martin will represent him as his General Agent, and will always know his address and forward letters. The letter ends with instructions on behalf of the "weadows of officers;" and the protection of "about nine country-born young men, sons of officers" to whom Ensigns' commissions have been promised "at Rs. 125 per month, and when Perron comes, give him some." By this time the General, perhaps, knew who was to be his successor; but he sends him no greeting.

The last letters of the series are dated on Jan. 15, and written on board ship, to be posted, doubtless, by the Hooghly pilot on leaving at the Sandheads. The General now speaks plainly as to his intention "to go no farther than Bombay, and proceed thence to Poona; in the end to pay my respects to the Prince. . . but if I am doomed to remain in my present state I shall be obliged to proceed to the Cape at the advice of the Doctors and at the solicitations of my friends. . . as for Europe, I don't think of it, but as a last resource, well aware that a single winter (there) would kill me, so much have I been worst since the cold has begun in Bangala." The European winter, as it turned out, was to prove a different thing from a Calcutta cold season; and nearly thirty years of honour and usefulness awaited the veteran in that Europe which he seemed to regard with so much anxiety: "to live a single year in Europe would be my death;" if the Cape does not restore him, yet "God be praised! farther can't at the moment think of any place of safety in Europe, to which adding that it being now 27 years (since) I left for the last time my native place I have not a relation or person of my acquaintance (left there)." He cannot therefore look forward to the influence and power to which he has become accustomed, "with the advantage of being able to do good to numbers of people." Had all this—so contrary to the ultimate result—been only addressed to Sindhia and other natives of India, we might be tempted to regard it as a *placebo* to cover desertion. But it being repeatedly urged so earnestly upon a European comrade, and always in company with marks of unremitting

sympathy with the service, we are surely justified in believing that, to the last, the writer hoped to resume his command in India. But there is equal reason to believe that the General did not leave the Mahrattas with much regret, whatever may have been his feelings towards "the Prince" or his European servants. In this very letter he returns to the subject of the Hindoos and their irreconcilable enmity for Europeans. "Believe me," he says, "and be assured all the Mahratta Chiefs are our mortal enemies, as well as the Pandetts" (the Brahmins), "and it is not one of them that would not see with the greatest pleasure the extinction of the Brigades; to effect that purpose nothing better than by our losing the Provinces." The gallant officer is led by haste into a tangle of words; the meaning is clear enough: the Lakwa Dadas, Ambajis, etc., would gladly see their Master expelled from Hindustan if the event should lead him to dispense with his Regular Force and European officers. Therefore he adds, to Sutherland, a caution that "it behoves you to have a vigilant eye to the entire preservation of both; your own interest and the good of thousands depend on it!" These reflections and instructions are not only of use in showing the opinion entertained by the retiring commander as to the character of his correspondent, but they throw some light on the subsequent policy and conduct of General Perron.

Before concluding this letter of farewell, the writer once more earnestly commends to Sutherland the interests of the Prince and of the service; "to maintain the reputation of the troops under your command requires activity and exactitude in every part . . . as you are wise I flatter myself to find things, on my return, in good order. I shall say no more; write to me every three or four months." In a separate letter of the same date, sent through Col. Martin, the General implores Sutherland to take charge of the Jalesar *jaigir*, remembering that it is not a military fief but a freehold from the late Mahadaji's favour under the seal manual of the Empire (*Al-Tamgha*); so that it may be secured against "the rapacity" of Mahrattas and Pandits. The income is to be "the patrimony of my children till they are of age, the maintenance of my two girls . . . their pension being attached and affixed on the said Jaghir."

Whether the young ladies lived to enjoy the provision thus made for them; whether Sutherland looked after their settlement in life; and whether they left any descendants of the great Savoyard General, it is now too late to ascertain. It is only clear that Gen. de Boigne had confidence in Sutherland, who doubtless justified that trust for the rest of his brief career.

Vain conjectures have been already expressed as to the
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possible variation in events had Sindhia regarded Sutherland with the eyes of his departed General. He preferred to trust the Frenchman, with the result that we know. Perron intrigued and vacillated, almost to the last; his officers deserted or betrayed him; and he esteemed himself lucky to escape with his goods to the protection of a generous foe. The last of the letters kindly supplied by Mr. Sutherland shows Perron in the act of withdrawing his property from the Fort at Agra under a Pass from Col. R. Ball, commanding for Lake at Sasni. It is addressed to George Hessing, and dated 15th September 1803. The English is irreproachable.

Amongst other letters due to the courtesy of Mr. Sutherland not the least interesting are those addressed to his grandfather by the future Duke of Wellington when the latter was conducting operations in the valley of the Kistna in 1800. It was the year after the fall of Tippu Sultan of Mysore; and Arthur Wellesley—as he then was—had taken the field against one of Tippu's former followers—locally known as "Dhundia Waugh"—who had escaped from Seringapatam and attempted to live on the country at the head of a band of freebooters. Wellesley had pushed the robbers across the country into Dharwar, and now found reason to hope that he might bring them to bay. But to do this effectually he required the aid of Sindhia, whose forces were then in the Deccan. The first letter on the subject bears date, "Camp on the right bank of the Malprabha, August 13th, 1800." It begins, in the most direct fashion, by referring to information which must have reached the correspondent from the Court of Poona, and to the success which has hitherto attended the British troops. "This being the case," proceeds the young Brigadier, "and having besides received intelligence from Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer that Dowlut Row Scindiah (*sic*) had informed him that his troops could cooperate with me, I am induced to write to you. Doondiah Waugh is now on the South bank of the (Gulperba?)* river; his object is evidently to cross it and to avoid the troops under my command. It is in your power to prevent this, and thus to render an important service to the Peshwa and his allies. As I understand you are an Englishman I address you in English, and I shall be obliged if you will let me know what steps you intend to take with a view to compliance with the wish which I have an opportunity of mentioning your services to the British Government and to that of Poona."

"I have the honor to be sir, with respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

"To the Officer Commanding
the forces of Dowlut Row Scindiah."

* Perhaps the Ghatprabha, an affluent of the Kistna, which breaks from the mountains near Gokak.

This letter appears to have been a fortnight on the road ; on the 2nd September it must have been received by Sutherland at Poona, for on that date he wrote to the Colonel informing him that he had communicated the contents to his subordinate, Captain Brownrigg, directing him to place himself under Colonel Wellesley's orders on condition of his not taking his detachment beyond the limits of the Mahratta territory. "Give me leave to assure you," added Sutherland, "that though circumstances have placed me under the directions of a native Prince, I still consider myself bound by every principle of honour . . . to watch for every opportunity of rendering service to my fellow-countrymen" . . . These professions were handsomely acknowledged by Wellesley who added that, if the enemy "should return into the Mahratta country their services would certainly be availed of." And, "proceeds the writer," I shall take the opportunity of stating to Captain Brownrigg my opinion of the manner in which the troops under his orders can be employed (so as) to render most service to the common cause. "The correspondence would be forwarded to the Government of Fort St. George ; and the Colonel had no doubt but that the Right Honorable the Governor" (Lord Clive) "would derive the greatest satisfaction from persual." This letter is dated from camp, September 7. On the 20th of the same month, Wellesley gives Brownrigg the following laconic account of the end of the operations against Dhundia. "I fell in with his army on the 10th instant, and an action ensued in which his troops were entirely defeated, and he was killed." This action was fought at Manoli. • •

The remaining letters are formal ; one from Brownrigg offering congratulations, and one from the Colonel in courteous acknowledgment. It is only needful to add that after the conclusion of the war, four years later, Brownrigg was allowed to enter the service of the Honorable East India Company in which he lost his life, being killed at the siege of Sirsa (presumably in 1818).*

An interesting account of some of the adventurers was published, by Mr. Fisher Unwin, some years ago, the author being Mr. Herbert Compton. There is no date on the title-page, but the work was noticed in the *Indian Magazine and Review* for December 1892. The title is "A particular account of the European military Adventurers of Hindustan ;" but the only full memoirs are those of Boigne, Perron and Thomas, the rest being collectively dealt with in an Appendix.

* V. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XIII. 12.

ART. II.—THE HIGHWAY TO TIBET.

IT seems strange that at this date, one of the countries of the world should still be shut in from the rest of mankind, not by impassable deserts or impenetrable ice, but only by the exclusiveness of its people; and these not a hermit nation, like the Koreans of twenty years ago, but a nation of born traders, with a literature, a Government, and a religion. Such, however, is the fact. The priests of Tibet, called lamas, have secured the control of the Government, and, living in pomp and luxury on the profits of commercial monopolies, and regarding the people simply as instruments for their aggrandisement, have forbidden any one to come into their country who can show the people a happier or a more profitable way of life. Surrounded by tremendous mountains, the Tibetans have been able to carry out this policy with a thoroughness which would not have been possible in a country with a sea-board. But China also has helped. It subjugated the Tibetans as early as the ninth century, A. D., and, although it makes too little out of them to take much interest in the possession, it is sensitive about having its supremacy disputed. Accordingly, Chinamen can enter Tibet at all times and by any route; a Chinese Resident lives in great state at Lhasa; and Chinese subordinate officers, with small parties of soldiers, occupy strategic points on the frontier.

As may be imagined of a country ruled in this way, the inhabitants and their highways become of less consequence in proportion as they are remote from Lhasa, the capital, a place which only four or five Europeans have seen, and they in far by-gone years. Consequently, while it is possible to penetrate the country, that is, the mere land, for some distance, from Kashmeer, Assam, or Mongolia, it is virtually impossible to go half a mile beyond the frontier from Bengal or China. But the Tibetans come and go; and, excepting that which leads eastward to the Szechwen province of China, no road out of Lhasa equals in importance that which goes over the Jeylap pass, through the south-east corner of Sikhim, into Bengal.

That was the way a friend and myself took from Calcutta one October; and it was hard to believe, after traversing forests, descending into valleys, and climbing mountains, whose grandeur baffled description; after passing in single days from blistering heat to freezing cold, that we had not been more than about thirty miles in a straight line from British India. Such is the mystery of the unknown; for

Sikkim itself was a closed land till not very many years ago. Our journey finished, my friend and I stood on the pass, at an elevation of 14,380 feet, and looked wistfully over the Forbidden Land, which stretched down and away from our very feet. The will of a small and half-savage nation shut us out from the great tableland of eastern Asia as effectually as the continent of ice shuts men out from the North Pole. Fifty miles off, towering above, like a giant land-mark, its upper half of snow dazzling in the sunlight, stood Chumolahrhi, as beautiful as little Fujisan, the glory of Japan. The hand of man appeared in a cairn and pole, thickly hung with prayer-flags, to mark for the demon-dreading traveller the spot where the jurisdiction of the gods of Sikkim ceased and that of the gods of Tibet began. All round was bare and bleak and cold, with snow in patches on the ground and covering the hills that guarded the pass. Before us the path rapidly descended past the timber line, 4,000 feet, where a narrow valley, threaded by a stream, reached away in a straight line for ten miles to the Mochoo river, the main route of traffic from Bhootan to Lhassa. We could not see Rinchingong, the little town at the junction of the rivers; but on the hillside above it the white buildings of the Buddhist monastery of Kajui were plainly visible.

Nine miles behind us, and lower by two thousand feet, hidden from view by the bare mountains, lay Gnatong, a small settlement of Natives living miserably in little huts of rough boards, without a tree to shade them or a flower to cheer them, their hardy cattle grazing in their sight and their dogs and poultry feeding among the rubbish round their doors. There stood also the deserted barracks of a garrison which we English kept in that bleak spot for four years; and in the adjoining cemetery were the neglected graves of fourteen of the soldiers, who died there, "far from their home, beyond the wave." A fifteenth mound marked the resting place of a Swedish Missionary.

It was in 1888 that, a Tibetan force having invaded Sikkim, and the effeminate ruler of that State having failed to expel them, we sent an expedition and drove back the intruders beyond the Jeylap pass. Our camp was at Gnatong, and we held our position there, within a strongly fortified stockade, till a treaty with China defined the limits of Tibet and afforded a guarantee that Sikkim would not be again encroached upon. The tenantless and fast dilapidating barracks bear witness to the energy of the Anglo-Saxon nature in comparison with the objectless life of the Native inhabitants in the adjoining village. The telegraph office, the meteorological observatory, the pay office, the canteen, the guard-room, and the officers' mess are still plain-

ly distinguishable ; and what used to be the soldiers' gymnasium still contains parallel bars and the poles of a swing. Thomas Atkins also, with his usual facetiousness, named the spaces between the lines of barracks "Rotten Row," "Stanton Road," "Hyde Park Corner," etc. ; and these signs remain to suggest Christian charms to Mongol by-passers. To the Natives in the village the roomy barracks appear cold and cheerless ; so they prefer to stay in their own small and dingy huts ; although they regularly pull down and carry away the doors, windows, and rafters, to be used for firewood. They also resort to the reservoir of water which they never thought of building for themselves, but which the English troops built as soon as they came there ; not, however, because they prefer the pure water issuing from a spring in the hillside to that in the puddle which has satisfied them for generations past, but because it is easy to fill their vessels in the deep basin.

Gnatong stands at the limit of the timber line ; and from that point backward towards India the forest grows deeper as the elevation becomes lower. I have taken the reader at once to the border of Tibet, and said nothing of the journey, so I will ask him to return with me and set out from Darjeeling. That delightful hill station, distant from Calcutta about eighteen hours' journey by railway and ferry boat, is by no means as well known to Europeans in other parts of India as it is to us of Calcutta and Bengal ; but its fame has reached Europe and America, and, as it is the most accessible place in the heart of the Himalayas, scores of tourists every year make a point of going there, though they may hurry past all our other hill stations. They are rewarded by seeing what the historian Elphinstone has described as "the noblest scenery in India,..... a sight which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into emotion, and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be effaced." On a clear day they have a view of Mount Everest, whose summit overtops that of the principal peak of the Andes by half a mile in perpendicular height.

At Darjeeling, which is almost 7,000 feet above sea-level at the railway station, and about 1,000 feet more on Jalapahar, we strike off to the north-east, and first go down about 6,000 feet to the Teesta river, a swift and grand current in the depth of the mountains, with a capital bridge constructed not many years ago by British enterprise. Every few hundred yards of the long way down has revealed some new beauty : at one point a splendid view ; at another a shaded walk ; at another a sparkling rivulet ; and all along tall trees, giant creepers, thickets of bamboo, tangles of cane, mosses, ferns, and flowers, with birds and butterflies unnumbered. Crossing

the Teesta, we climb 4,000 feet to Kalimpoong, a town much smaller than Darjeeling, where missionaries of the Established Church of Scotland have a church, a medical dispensary, a school, and the headquarters of a work which extends to numerous villages and has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Government to have a most beneficial effect in civilizing the mountaineers.

The Rev. J. A. Graham has won a reputation by his graphic account of the Mission, entitled, "On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands," the closed lands being Tibet, Nepal, and Bhootan. From Kalimpoong we proceed along a fairly level road, through light forest and in an exhilarating climate, to a small town called Padong. Then there is a steep descent to the Rusheet river, which bounds British territory, and we enter Sikhim. Climbing up from the valley, we come to Rhenok, where the influence of British civilization is seen in a post office, a telegraph office, and a row of little wooden shops with things for eating and wearing unknown to the natives till we took them there. We found the postmaster a most polite and intelligent man, a typical Nepalee of the educated class. He introduced his interesting family to us, and told us he had a son at school in Darjeeling. The mountaineers of India are nearly everywhere labouring men without a turn or taste for education. The Mahratta Brahmans on the ghâts above Bombay are an exception; and so are the upper classes of Manipur and of Nepal, thorough Hindoos with frames and muscles formed by constant climbing. At Rhenok we left civilization behind us and entered the solitudes of the mountains, where are no inhabitants save a family or two in a hut, at long intervals, who maintain a precarious livelihood by offering food and drink to traders passing with strings of laden mules between Tibet and Kalimpoong.

We are now two long marches from Gnatong, and, grand as has been the scenery and marvellous the animal life so far, they become more awe-inspiring and bewildering from this point onward. But the climbing is terrific. There are 9,000 feet to go up; and twice over we have an interminable zigzag to descend into a valley, and then a corresponding ascent before we reach the level from which we started. We two did it in rough style, with no more commissariat than the Boers in South Africa: we had one saddle mule, but my friend disdained to ride at all, and I contrived to walk half the way. One of us carried a camera, and the other a gun. We had neither servant nor coolie, but a mule to carry our provisions and extra clothing, and one man to look after it and the riding mule. We paid for two men, but one of them deserted us on the second day out.

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The mountains grew higher and higher and the forest became deeper and denser as we trudged mile upon mile the day long. The amazing variety of colour in the trees, far surpassing the contrasts of autumn hues in Europe, riveted our gaze many times as a vast wall of mountain rose before us or a panorama of hilltops stretched away into the distance. Shade after shade of green, of yellow, of brown, and of red, from lightest to darkest, made a mighty patchwork and displayed one glory of the Himalayan range. And although the season of flowers and orchids was past, we saw enough to remind us of the paradise that blooms there in spring, with gorgeous clusters hanging from the trees and microscopic beauties making mosaics on the ground. For miles the first day our road lay along the bank of the rippling and gurgling Runglee river, and when we crossed the bridge it was to follow another stream for a long distance before the path turned up the mountain and slowly rose 4,000 feet to Sedonchen. No words can describe the gloom of that forest or the wildness of those shaded torrents. Man is of no account there : vegetation puts on its glory without his aid, and animal life teems on a scale of which he knows little. Among birds, the giant hornbill has its home there. This great creature is four feet in length, but nevertheless it finds a hollow in one of the trees large enough for its nest : into that the female retreats to lay and hatch its eggs, and the entrance is plastered up with clay by the male, which regularly feeds its mate with fruit, through a hole left in the plastering, till the period of incubation is completed.

From Sedonchen we climbed to Lingtoo, a crag several hundred feet higher than Gnatong, where the Tibetans built a fort when they invaded Sikkim, and where the path proceeds along a narrow ledge overlooking a dreadful precipice. Our troops demolished the fort ; but the ruins still show a line of slabs with inscriptions, and a collection of prayer-flags mark the spot as the haunt of a "Zhi-dak." To this black demon travellers offer a rag torn from their clothes and tied to a stick, on gaining the summit of a hill or pass. I watched the manœuvre performed by our muleteer, but had to resort to the "Gazetteer of Sikkim" to understand its significance. While planting his offering on the "lap-che," or cairn, the traveller calls the demon by uttering in a meek voice, *Kiki! Kiki!* Then he adds *So-so! So-so!* which means presentation or offering ; and exclaims in a loud, triumphant strain, *Lha-gyal-o ! Lha-gyal-o !* "God has won ! God has won !"

We are now above most of the mountains, and the tropical vegetation has given place to pine forest. The weather is too cold for the birds and the beasts, the insects and the reptiles, among which we have walked so long. The air does

not buzz all day with the din of the cicadas, and at night we do not hear the constant pipe of the pigmy owl, nor the bewildering clamour of grasshoppers and treefrogs. But the fierce and strong lammergeier is here in its pride, and parties of the small black eagle sail to and fro along the cliffs. The raven is everywhere, in pairs, and choughs, with their musical roll, fly about the valleys. The Himalayan marmot, and smaller, but not less interesting, rodents, have their burrows among the gorse. We chanced also to come upon a herd of about forty yak tamely grazing on a cold hillside, with their shaggy hair and broom-like tails. The calves were curious little creatures.

We were three days in this region going and three days returning, with an interval of two days in which a high wind rose and the weather underwent a change. October is the season when the sun endeavours to assert itself after the tropical rains and before the snows of winter. So we saw the skies and the landscape under a considerable variety of climate. We passed more than once through a deluge of rain; we went for miles in mists that shrouded everything; and we saw the sun shining in its splendour and the moon "walking in brightness," with every star sparkling in the rare atmosphere. The heat scorched us in the valleys, making the perspiration stream down our faces and soak through our clothes; and in six hours we were shivering with cold on a mountain top. But no view we had impressed us, because of its unlikeness to anything seen in India, as much as the sun shedding its rays through openings in the clouds, upon distant hilltops or on masses of snowy mist. It was when we were on the highest elevations of our journey, and ourselves so enveloped in mist that the orb of day was invisible: there would be a long stretch of clear atmosphere, say to our right, the hilltops lying all below us, and several valleys filled with mist that looked like pure cotton pressed down. If, then, an opening in the clouds above, invisible to us, permitted a flood of sunlight to fall on a square mile of distant landscape, showing a green hillside and a bed of snow-white fog in perfect brightness, we had a view of glory peculiar to those upper solitudes.

All the countries in this part of Asia, with the exception of Nepal, are peopled by Mongol races, having the flat faces, high cheek bones, unmistakeable eyes, scanty beards, and yellow or brown complexions most familiar to us in the Chinese; and these people observe a form of the Buddhist religion with its monks and monasteries and mystic sentences, and spells and charms, and rosaries and prayer-wheels, and its demons and exorcists and astrologers. The Tibetans come down from their lofty, wind-swept tableland only to trade.

The Bhooteas, a stalwart people from the less inhospitable, but still jungle-clad and fever-stricken, mountains on the right, travel more easily into Sikhim and find local employment and residence there. The Lepchas, who are the proper natives of Sikhim and have a petty king at Guntok, are a delicate-looking people with a wonderful knowledge of wood-craft, and are dear to the entomologist because of their familiarity with butterflies and beetles and their skill at catching rare specimens without spoiling them. They gather and eat a profusion of vegetable produce, and delight in making gardens of wild flowers round their huts and clearings. But their gentle spirits and easy habits give them no chance against the enterprising Nepalese on their west, who already swarm over the most fertile parts of Sikhim and are cutting down the forest and raising crops of grain in a masterful manner. This warlike and sturdy race of Hindoos conquered the country in the 14th century and have ever since maintained a strong, organized administration, with priests and idols and temples as strictly Hindoo as any in India. They may be recognised wherever met by their dress, their caste, their idolatry, and their family system. They exhibit, in a thoroughly Boodhist region, the picturesque element which makes India incomparably a more interesting country than China. But it is British order and British wealth that give every class the best opportunity to make a show; and consequently, at Darjeeling and round about these Nepalese and Bhooteas, Tibetans and Lepchas, with the local hillmen known as Paharees come out in dresses and flowers and ornaments that beat anything else to be seen in all the inhabited Himalaya. Feminine vanity has here all the scope it wants, and no tribe of girls in India, outside of Kashmere, look as attractive as the girls between Darjeeling and Rhenok.

I have spoken of the Jeylap-la—"La" means "pass"—as the end of our journey. To be exact, we went eight miles into Tibet, to Yatung, where, by a treaty signed between Lord Lansdowne and a high Chinese official from Lhassa, whose visit as "Omban" is well remembered in Calcutta, an open mart was established for the promotion of trade between India and Tibet. There are a Chinese and a Tibetan garrison to see that no person other than a Tibetan or a Chinaman passes the barrier one yard further into Tibet. But no market, not a stall for the sale of food, has yet been set up there; and nobody lives there except the soldiery, and the servants of the only two Europeans in the place. These Europeans are an English Commissioner of Customs in the service of the Chinese Government, and Miss Annie R. Taylor, the missionary known for her persistent and daring attempts to reach

Lhasa both from China and from India. It is a desolate spot, in a valley with an elevation of nearly 10,500 feet. A small but fairly good house and office have been built for the Commissioner, with dwelling places for his establishment. The highway to Lhasa, the very path we have pursued from the pass, runs in front of these buildings and so becomes a street; for on the other side of it is a cluster of wooden huts occupied by the squalid and tattered Tibetan garrison. Among these huts a "suite of apartments" is rented by Miss Taylor, who keeps a shop of miscellaneous ware as the condition of her residence in forbidden territory. She is the first and last merchant to take advantage of "the open mart" we extorted from Tibet. A quarter of a mile further along a stone-wall makes the barrier beyond which we may not trespass; and immediately on the other side is a garrison of Chinese soldiers, just a little better accommodated than the Tibetan garrison. The Kajui Monastery, already mentioned, is up on the hillside, four miles beyond; and in the valley below it, but out of view at Yatung, is Rinchingong, a really important town, with all the advantages of a corner shop at the junction of the Yatung and Mochoo valleys. That is undoubtedly where our open-mart ought to have been; and, as the treaty provided for a revision of its terms in May 1899, an advantageous change may be announced at the first favourable opportunity. That opportunity, however, has a good way round to come. The Chinese Government and the powerful monopolists at Lhasa are against any change, and our Government is politically indifferent. But our commercial interests are riotous for a highway for Indian tea into Tibet, which lies so much nearer to our doors than to the doors of China. Very many square miles of land round Darjeeling have been cleared of forest and laid out in tea by British energy and with British capital; and tens of thousands of Nepalese and Lepcha coolies find employment there on terms which cannot be approached under their own Governments. All this tea positively steams to flow into the many myriad tea-pots of Tibet. And it is shrewdly pointed out, as a countervailing advantage, that Tibet wool might be exported to India, under suitable encouragement, in much larger quantity than it is at present.

But, speculate how we will, the march of civilization is resistless. Forty years ago the tracts now covered with ranges of coolies' huts and dotted with the pretty bungalows of tea-planters, were as hopeless jungle as any all the way to Gnatong; and the prophet's eye can see a time when the forests of Sikhim will give place to fields, and the railway will traverse the mountains, till thriving towns stand on the Runglee river, Lhasa becomes a Moscow, and Kalimpoong the seat of a university.

ART. III.—THE ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE IN BENGAL.

IN 1898, 591,793 civil suits were instituted in the Civil Courts subordinate to the High Court of Calcutta. Ten years earlier the number was 452,533.

The value of the property in dispute in the cases instituted in 1898 was Rs. 4,30,08,755 or over $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores of rupees. The amount realised during the year in execution proceedings was well over two crores.

These figures show how important a function of Government the administration of Civil Justice has become ; indeed there is scarcely a department which more vitally affects the interests of a greater number of people. It is easy to upbraid the litigiousness of the peoples of India, but a characteristic common to the Bengali, the Panjabi and the Madrassi cannot be due to mere perversity : its cause must lie deep. It is undesirable that there is much frivolous and vexatious litigation—we take no steps to prevent it. But in a society where nearly every man has an interest in land, and is to that extent a capitalist, and where nearly every man raises money, directly or indirectly, on his capital, litigation is inevitable. Disputes about boundaries, rights of way and succession in connection with land, as well as disputes about longstanding debts, must frequently arise. It is not fair to compare such a society with a country where the bulk of the population receive wages in cash. In England the working man who wants to raise money, sells his Sunday coat : in Bengal the ryot mortgages his holding : a proceeding which will eventually land him in the Civil Court.

As such disputes, requiring settlement, are numerous, the number of suits brought in the Civil Courts will depend on two circumstances : firstly, the extent to which the indigenous method of settling such disputes is superseded : secondly, the way in which work is done in the Government Courts. As the Civil Courts are not only supreme over, but actually ignore, panchayets or other non-official tribunals by which through long ages petty disputes have been settled, it is merely a question of time before the latter are ousted. They necessarily lose all the coercive force with which custom has endowed them. Except in the few cases where strong religious or caste feeling may interfere, all disputes must eventually go to the civil courts for decision, unless the parties can come to terms.

The less inducement the parties have to come to terms, the more disputes will actually reach the courts, and this leads to

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the second point—the way in which the courts do their work. Where justice can be obtained with certainty, promptness and cheapness, a certain class of suits will proportionately diminish. If a weak case is reasonably certain to lose, it will not be set up: if it is useless to resist a just claim, resistance will not be attempted: if vexatious claims are ruthlessly suppressed, they will not be instituted. It is, then, not sufficient for Government to sigh over native litigiousness; so far as the litigation which exists is unnecessary, Government is itself largely to blame.

It seems, however, that the evil is exaggerated. Of the total number of cases decided, only one in five is decided against the plaintiff, and, seeing how many legal pitfalls beset the path of the litigant, and that he may have a good case and yet be unable to prove it, the number of unsustainable cases cannot be great. It is not clear why a man should be blamed for prosecuting a just claim in courts to which we invite him. If, in so doing, he involves his opponent in disproportionate costs and harrassment, the fault lies in the system. People often talk and write as if the bulk of the litigation in the Civil Courts were the outcome of sheer perversity: they deplore it and would, if they could, diminish its volume. If the litigant in our courts finds his way beset with difficulties, they are inclined to think that it serves him right. We cannot, however, put back the hands of the clock: civil disputes will inevitably come more and more universally to the Civil Courts for decision. It is our obvious duty to render their decision easy and satisfactory, and at the same time to discourage all abuse of the procedure of the courts.

It is not my purpose in this paper to consider whether the law administered by our courts is suited to the present condition of the people, or whether the procedure of the courts is the best that could be devised. I propose the much humbler task of considering whether, taking the present law and the present procedure, the standard of work attained is the highest possible under the circumstances; whether unnecessary delay and expense are avoided and vexatious litigation is discouraged.

The Provincial Civil Courts of Bengal are manned by 31 District Judges, 66 Subordinate Judges, and 292 Munsiffs. Of these 221 exercise the powers of a Small Cause Court, from which the power of appeal is limited. About one-third of the litigation of the province is decided under the Small Cause Court procedure.

If these courts are to deal satisfactorily with the mass of business submitted to them, it is clear that method, promptitude and diligence are necessary. Method and promptitude

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- are not the leading characteristics of the Bengali mind : it is in this direction that we may expect to find defects in the Civil Courts.

In 1898 the average time that elapsed between the institution and the decision of a contested suit in the Mofussil Courts in Bengal was 128 days. In the case of uncontested suits the time was 61 days. But the way in which business was disposed of can best be seen by examining the figures for the different classes of suits. These are given in the following table of duration of suits, in days :—

	Contested.	Uncontested.
For money and moveables ...	74	40
Rent suits ...	141	72
Title and other suits ...	204	110

These figures indicate sufficient delay in the disposal of work. But the litigant in Bengal is not at the end of his troubles when he has got his suit decided in the court of original jurisdiction. There will probably be an appeal. An appeal takes sometime to decide. The litigant will have to wait for a decision.

179 days in a suit for	money.
157 " "	rent.
227 " "	land.

Thus the plaintiff in a contested title suit will have his case pending for 431 days before it is finally decided, without counting the time which elapses between the decision of the suit and the filing of the appeal, and of course without allowing for the perilous joys of an appeal to the High Court. The case will be hanging over his head for 15 months. That is the *average* time, it is nothing exceptional for a case to last two or three years.

Now these title suits are not suits between wealthy corporations, involving valuable properties : about half are valued at less than Rs. 50. By them are settled the ordinary disputes between villagers. If we were not all too accustomed to the law's delays, it would, perhaps, strike us as a scandal that, if two ryots have a dispute about the ownership

of a field, they cannot get the matter decided without their hanging about the law courts for fifteen months, or that it should take a landlord ten months to get a decree for rent from his ryot. Such prolongation of cases involves constant visits to the law courts, each visit being attended with expenses: adjournment succeeds adjournment; the parties and their witnesses are harrassed and bled, frequently until their resources are exhausted. Sixteen per cent. of the cases instituted are compromised, which means in most cases that the parties cannot afford to continue the contest, and so patch up some sort of arrangement to save themselves from total ruin.

The people of Bengal are mainly agriculturists. They are poor; their disputes are mostly such as a man of common sense, visiting a village, could settle in an hour: our wonderful legal system intervenes, plunges the parties in litigation which is to last for years, and then wonders that its procedure is abused.

Common sense refuses to believe that such delays in legal business are necessary. Want of firmness, want of method, want of organization may with certainty be assumed as the causes of this dilatoriness in the despatch of business. The question for decision in the ordinary petty civil suit is no more complicated than that in the ordinary criminal case: it is as easy to decide whether A borrowed Rs. 10 from B as whether A stole Rs. 10 from B; but the Civil Courts take nine months to come to a decision where the criminal courts take one.

There is another criterion of the work of the Civil Courts: in some districts rent suits are still tried in the revenue courts under Act X of 1859: the procedure is a clumsy one: the officers who try the suits have a great amount of other work to do, and a Deputy Collector would always postpone a rent suit to take up a criminal case: yet in the revenue courts a contested rent suit pends 108 days against 161 in the Civil Courts, and a rent appeal 52 days against 157 in the Civil Courts.

So much for the way in which the suitor with a just cause is treated. But, perhaps, if the good are not encouraged, the bad are at least actively discouraged. Far from it; to one who knows the facts it is ludicrous to remember that section 209 I. P. C. makes punishable with two years' imprisonment the offence of dishonestly making a false claim in a Court of Justice: that to fraudulently and collusively obtain a false decree for money or property is a criminal offence: that to remove or conceal property to prevent its being taken in execution, or to make a false claim to such property with the same intent, are acts punishable under the I. P. C. Perjury and forgery and

disobedience to the court's process are of course penal offences. Yet, so far as action depends on the initiative of the Civil Courts, these provisions of the law are dead letters: if a man makes a false charge before the Criminal Courts, he runs every chance of being prosecuted under section 211 I. P. C. Section 209 is the corresponding section relating to the Civil Courts: few Magistrates have ever been called on to try a case under it.

If such obvious defects exist in the working of the Civil Courts, and are due to want of proper organization and supervision, we at once ask the question, "Who is to blame?" The answer is "No one." There is no one to be hanged, for there is no one responsible: no head to the organization.

The High Court is the body nominally responsible for the working of the subordinate Civil Courts. In practice its powers of supervision are limited. There are two methods by which the head of a department may satisfy himself that his subordinates are working satisfactorily and exercise the requisite control over them. One method is to make them submit returns and statistics and to judge their work thereby. All experience shows that this method is fallacious. The returns, even if not fudged, are deceptive, and also lead directly to bad work. To take a case in point from the Civil Courts, it is desirable that a Munsiff should decide suits with the least delay possible: accordingly Munsiffs submit returns showing the length of time that the cases on their files have been pending. If any cases are pending more than six months, the Munsiff must explain the reason for the delay and may be reprimanded. He will accordingly try to complete his cases within six months, but will consider that he has *carte blanche* to keep all cases pending up to five months. Thus the average duration of a contested suit under the regular procedure is a little over five months.

Many other illustrations could be found of the fact that returns are mainly useful to direct the enquiries of an inspecting officer in the right direction. Government in all other departments has learnt the lesson that the watchword of good administration is "inspect, inspect, inspect."

The heads of all administrative departments spend much of their time in inspection: in many cases they have special assistants entirely employed on such work: in the case of the Criminal Courts the work of the Subordinate Magistrates is inspected weekly, monthly, and half-yearly by the District Magistrate, and also by the Commissioner. When we turn to the Civil Courts we find that the case is different. This consensus of expert opinion is ignored; there is no staff of inspecting officers engaged in detecting the erring, inciting

the lazy, reproving the backward and instructing the ignorant officer.

The District Judge is supposed to inspect his subordinate courts once a year: the supposition is little more than a pious wish: if the Judge choose to make his inspections but once in two years, no one will say him nay. If a District Magistrate did not inspect his offices in accordance with rules, he would soon find himself in water unpleasantly hot.

If the Subordinate Courts are seldom inspected, there is no one at all to inspect the work of the District Judges, or to ascertain that work throughout the Province is being conducted on uniform lines and see that lessons learnt in one place are laid to heart in another.

The High Court as a whole cannot exercise the requisite control: most of its members lack the requisite knowledge of the working of Mofussil Courts or of the needs of the people. So large a body is also unsuited for the task of supervising the details of daily administration. In practice one of the Judges devotes his spare time to the work, and the routine of the department is the hands of a junior civilian who holds the appointment of Registrar.

The task of the Englishman in India is to organize and control. The Civil Courts stand in as much need of organization and control as any other department. To suppose that, because a judicial officer should be left entirely unfettered in the exercise of his judicial discretion, he should also be free from all efficient control as to his method of doing work, is mere confusion of thought. The Subordinate Judges and Munsiffs of Bengal are a hardworking and conscientious body of men, but they are not exempt from the failings of their races. If, unaided and unsupervised, they conducted business with the vigour, common-sense and promptness demanded by English opinion, it would only remain to abolish the civil service and open the Calcutta Houses of Parliament.

Organized supervision is needed: a department of civil justice should be created with a head responsible for its working. Such an officer would be entirely subordinate to the High Court, perhaps a member of the court, but he would be responsible to Government and in the eyes of the world for the working of the Civil Courts. He would have an adequate staff to assist him in the work of inspection. It would be his business to introduce reforms in the interest of litigants. At present the only public opinion that is brought to bear on the methods of judicial work is the opinion of lawyers; and the opinions of litigants about many matters are apt not to coincide. The lawyer, like the theologian, when removed from the control of public opinion, runs into the direst absurdities.

• He will refine and refine his legal procedure until it ceases to work and the ordinary business man is in despair.

Why is it that the Civil Courts are in so chaotic a condition, as compared with other departments of Government? Because they and they alone are not under the direct control of Government. The High Court has no funds at its disposal; it has no staff at its disposal: to a great extent it has not the knowledge requisite for the proper conduct of such work.

The Executive Government is composed of officers who have had practical acquaintance with the working of various departments, and who, when their turn of power comes, are ready to remove defects of which they are personally cognizant. They know what standard to aim at and what it is possible to attain.

There is no member of the Executive Government who has personal acquaintance with the inner working of the Civil Courts or is specially interested in their efficiency; there is no individual outside the Government on whom is laid the definite duty of maintaining that efficiency.

The multiplicity of Government Reports and Resolutions which are published, often gives ground for a jeer; but at any rate from them the public learns that the highest officers of Government are watching over the work of their subordinates, looking out for defects and applying remedies.

There is no such wholesome publicity about the working of the Civil Courts. Government is not responsible for them, and the High Court does not take the public into its confidence. Nor, indeed, is there anything for the public to learn beyond masses of figures, which show work in a state of chaos and no attempt made at improvement.

The case would be different if there were an officer whose reputation was bound up in the working of the Civil Courts. With an efficient staff, he would put pressure on the Munsiffs which would enable them to resist that constant opposing pressure of the pleaders in favour of delay to which they now succumb, there would result that life and movement which is the product of personal initiative.

On the other hand, such an officer would be able to press vigorously on Government demands for increased aids to efficiency which are now quietly shelved because there is no one in a position to enforce them.

All such proposals as the present at once raise the question of cost. In the first place the Mofussil Civil Courts yield a net revenue to Government of over 50 lakhs per annum: so long as the courts are worked at so large a profit, there is no excuse for sparing money in making them efficient.

There is, moreover, a method by which funds could be made

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immediately available. There are 31 District Judges, the majority of whom are civilians on large pay. These officers also exercise the powers of Sessions Judges, in which capacity it is reasonable to employ them : as Civil Courts they are anomalies.

The District Judge on Rs. 2,000 a month hears appeals from the decisions of Munsiffs : in this respect he exercises concurrent jurisdiction with Subordinate Judges on one-third of the pay. More than half such appeals are heard by Subordinate Judges ; so it must be presumed that they do the work efficiently : if so, it is sheer waste of money to employ the more highly-paid officer.

The District Judge exercises exclusive jurisdiction in probate and insolvency cases. There is no reason for this, beyond a thoughtless following of tradition : the questions for decision are not so complicated as many which are disposed of by Subordinate Judges : work under the Guardians and Wards Act, now performed by the District Judge, is work which it is peculiarly desirable should be done by natives of the country. The only judicial work done by the District Judge which is not, or could not, be equally well done by the present Subordinate Judges is the hearing of certain appeals. If a Subordinate Judge decides a suit valued at Rs. 5,000, the appeal lies to the High Court and is heard by two Judges whose abilities are measured by salaries of Rs. 4,000 a month : if the suit was valued at Rs. 5,000, the appeal lies to the District Judge, who is only worth Rs. 2,000 a month. This is in itself anomalous, and it is not worth while to retain the present class of District Judges merely to perpetuate the anomaly. Why should District Judges be civilians ? It is necessary to bring Englishmen from England and pay them high salaries either to secure men with special knowledge which is not possessed by natives of India, *e.g.*, engineers or doctors ; or to secure men with powers of organization and a love for western methods which we do not expect in the East. Do either of these reasons apply in the case of Civilian Judges ? Far from the Civilian Judge having a special knowledge of law, he is the only member of the legal hierarchy, from the Chief Justices of Bengal to the youngest officiating Munsiff, who is entirely ignorant of civil law and procedure. The civilian spends his first ten years of service in converting himself into an efficient administrator : when he is thereupon pitched into the office of District Judge there is no guarantee that he has ever in the course of his life seen the inside of the Code of Civil Procedure. But it may be said that he will at least bring a vigorous common sense to bear on his work, which will be wholesome. Far from it : he has small opportunity to do so.

- The Sessions Judge tries personally all the most important criminal cases in the district : it may well be worth while to employ a highly-paid European officer for this. The district Judge does not try himself the most important civil suits ; so that his special qualifications have no scope in this direction. More, our system of civil justice, with its license of appeal is remarkably homogeneous. There is no place for vigorous, but uninstructed, common sense between a legally-minded High Court and the body of Munsiffs whose thoughts are bounded by a Law Report. The High Court, which keeps its appeals pending over a year and then decides them on some delicate point of law, necessarily sets its impress on all the Subordinate Courts. No one has ever contended that a sturdy common sense is the distinguishing note of the Calcutta High Court.

At this time of day it is unreasonable to appoint, as Judges immediately subordinate to such a court, officers who have merely shown ability in improving their district roads or stirring up lazy municipalities, or even who have shown want of ability in such work.

The 31 District and Sessions Judges of the Province are employed almost equally on their criminal and their civil work : if they were relieved of the latter, 15 senior civilians would be at once set free for general executive work and the pay of five of them would man the District Civil Courts. We should see fewer young civilians of four and five years' standing placed in charge of districts, and three or four officers could at once be spared to set the work of the Civil Courts going at a more business-like pace and in a more business-like manner.

The question of the class from which District Judges should be drawn, of the point in the legal system at which criminal and civil powers should be united in the same officer, is, however, a subordinate one. The necessity of rendering civil justice more cheap, more prompt, and less harassing, is urgent : such a reform would not be a showy one ; but scarcely any reform would do more to remove vexations from the common life of the common people.

C. H. BOMPAS.

ART. IV.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(*Gleanings from the Field of Memory*).

CHAPTER I.

Curæ leves loquuntur ; ingentes silent. "Petty cares babble ; heavy care is mute."

[Any one who happened to read the Recollections published some time back under the title "A Servant of John Company" may, perhaps, bear in mind that they broke off with the writer's departure from Calcutta. The following pages offer an account of some of his subsequent experiences.]

THE steam-vessel on which I embarked with my family in October, 1882, was of considerable size ; belonging to the "City Line," owned by a Glasgow firm and primarily designed for cargo. But she had a small passenger accommodation forward of the engine-room and exquisitely clean ; each person having a commodious private room opening on to a well-appointed central saloon.

My Diary may be now drawn upon for a few notes.

Kalpi; Wednesday, October 25th.—Raised anchor 7 A.M., and soon got into open water. Remembrance of the first sight of these low wooded shores just 35 years ago ; a mere episode, and how unprofitable !

Pilot went on board his brig about 2 P.M. bearing our last letters ; and soon after we were in the blue ocean ! 'Tis better to have lived and lost than never to have lived at all . . .

The Captain, a thick-set Scottish mariner, is courteous—even to the point of flattery ; knew all about one, I daresay ; but only brings the best side forward. The vessel is rated, one is told, at 2,800 tons for Canal dues, but her actual cargo at this moment is said to be 5,000 tons. Here is a nautical problem that enquiry does not altogether solve ; she is built of iron and her *weight* is 3,500 tons. The freight is carried at 5s. a ton—a dead loss undergone for purposes of competition. She steams 12 knots an hour ; but sets her trysails this evening to try and do a little more.

Saturday, 28th, off Madras.—Lost a valuable gold watch by leaving it in the bath-room. Tried school for the elder children, but they pleaded *mal-de-mer* and threw it up. Went early to bed and overheard Captain on deck above ask : "Does he say nothing about his watch ?"

Sunday.—Up early and strolled into Captain's cabin, where my watch lay upon the table : said quietly :—"Wind that watch up every morning, please." He handed the article to me with the observation that "she had stopped." We sailed and steamed along the Southern side of the island and signalled Galle about noon : hoping that no sabbatical scruples



would hinder the Gallese from telegraphing the matter home, so that friends in London would know before breakfast that we had passed during Church-time. A nut for Lord Dundreary! Our not landing was a source of gratification to those who remembered former visits and vain expenditure on sham jewels. In the evening had a cigar with the skipper, who spun tremendous yarns.

Tuesday 31st October.—A lovely day, ship doing short time ascribed to engines "priming." Were we all wise we should not repine at a little delay of this kind since life has not one day of peace too many.

Saturday, 4th November.—Passed South of Socotra; then "the Brothers," two apparently volcanic piles. Towards evening Abd-ul-Kuri about 20 miles long and 1,000 feet high.

Monday.—Passed Aden 11-30 A. M.—After entering Red Sea wind fell dead aft, and we felt the heat.

Wednesday.—Lost what the seamen called our fair wind, and after a short calm encountered a fresh northerly breeze. Passed a man-of-war and dipped our ens'n, meeting a courteous reply.

Thursday.—Thought of Moses as we glided passed the Sinai Peninsula: if any display such as his were to occur now, the *New York Herald* would send out a special commissioner, and it would be reproduced at the Crystal Palace.

Friday, 10th November.—Woke at 4 A. M. by engine stopping. Beautiful dawn in Suez harbour;—

Sirius is set: no sound is on the sea
Where late the ship's green fire was backward rolled;
But see the comet's beard of spreading gold,
Is tangled in the swarming Pleiades.
Yon shore, from whence we catch the landward breeze,
Is Egypt, where the monuments were old
When Joseph to the Ishmaelite was sold:
Before Rome rose, she fell; her king's decrees,
Her arts of peace and armaments of war,
Her laws, her hopes of Immortality,
Sunk in the sand to-day, can scarce suffice
To give our Island autumn exercise;
Our Island that has all she had of yore,
And what she is will some day surely be.

Sunday, 12th November.—After the horrible flatness of the canal, with its buoys, stations, and pleasant break of greenery at Ismailia, we reached Port Said, a slummy little Venice. Testimony to the power of commerce, that any kind of town should be erected on what was no more than a spit of sand, barely large enough to hold a lighthouse, twenty years ago.

Monday.—Went ashore with the Captain, who took us to his Agents, where we passed a couple of hours with M. Savin, the local Director, an agreeable Frenchman, who showed the skin of a fine lion that he had lately shot.

Thursday.—Sighted Malta in the morning. After midday dinner all went on deck to see the ship glide in among the numerous lights of Valetta harbour and town. Went ashore about 8, and to the large and comfortable Opera House—orchestra-stalls 3 shillings. The piece was called “Ione,” founded on Bulwer’s “Last days of Pompeii,” pretty well rendered, but somewhat noisy. Military officers (Infantry and Gunners) in uniform; also some from German and Yankee ships in harbour. Supper at the *Gran Caffè*, and back on board, where coaling was going on with much vigour.

And so on, through squalls and falling temperature, past the coasts of Tunis and Algeria, now restored to Latin civilization; past the gardant Lion of Gibraltar, and the historic shores of Trafalgar and Cadiz; sighting Lisbon and Cape Roca; and once more into the boundless waters, with the long wave rolled in from Labrador and all the cold racket of the Bay of Biscay; till we sighted Start Point on the 25th, and proceeded up the channel. Next day we turned the North Foreland, passed up the river, and reached the Docks about 4 P.M.

And then, a few weeks having been spent in looking up friends and making preliminary arrangements, we settled down before the end of December in a temporary abode at Ealing, near to town for business, yet affording the means of sleeping in fresh air. The place was, even then, large and populous, with one or two old houses—of which the best were occupied by the Right Hon. S. Walpole and his relatives, the daughters of Mr. Perceval, the Minister shot in the House of Commons so far back as 1812. Our experiences of England were not at first encouraging; trouble with tradespeople and landlords, one could stand; but the outrageous behaviour of nurses and cooks often made us think with tender regret of the swindling old Khansaman and story-telling Aya whom we had so often cursed in India.

Nevertheless, whatever drawbacks may have attended the attempt to establish one’s encampment on the metropolitan outskirts, it had at least one very considerable compensation. For some years past one had been a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Athenaeum Club; and in these retreats one could escape from the suburban Philistine and meet the true aristocracy of England, the wise and learned men who gave one constant opportunities of *looking up*—the most agreeable and profitable of all attitudes. Only to mention a few who have since departed, there were James Ferguson, the architectural critic; Vaux, the accomplished Secretary; Matthew Arnold; Thomas Huxley; Sir H. S. Maine; Sir Louis Malet; Sir James Stephen; Lord Bowen; Henry Reeve;

Lord Monkswell (1st); Lord Lytton, and old Richmond; R. A., and the artists Calderon and Du Maurier, all of whom it was once a pleasure and a privilege to meet; as well as many who are still happily on this side of Charon's Ferry.

London life I found much altered from what I remembered it at the commencement of the Victorian era, when the ideal of one's ambition was to form one of the persons who—with scant social acknowledgment—were to be directors of human opinion. The traditions of Grub Street, or what it was the fashion to call "Bohemia," were then still operative. Maginn was gone; but Mahony, Thackeray, and other less famous men, remembered him and his attitude of careless omniscience and schoolboy scurrility. The period of coffee-houses and sponging houses was waning, with its atmosphere of drink, debt, and duelling; but there still clung to the literary calling a kind of *Fra Diavolo* romance which had a strong fascination for a certain class of youthful minds. Now, after thirty-five years of peaceful prosperity, one found the man of letters transplanted and transformed. Grub Street was improved off the face of the earth; the editor; even the contributor, had become a power in the State, driving to his club in his own carriage, and quaffing champagne at the dinner tables of Dukes.

Obviously, this was a career completely closed to the Returned Empty. His only prospect was to look on from the outside, and observe, where he could no longer hope to participate. One's youthful ideal had proved false—youthful ideals mostly do. It was now to be seen whether the new position—that of an undistinguished onlooker—would be more fruitful. Without further explanation a few scraps from the Diary for 1883 may be now permitted. Private matter is excluded; but I will just note—for the information of others in like circumstances—that a great deal of time, temper, and money, was wasted in trying to find quarters for a large family at a low rental.

A very few words, however, may be convenient as to the conditions of public life in 1883. In the previous December some important events had occurred, and some important men had passed away on the last day of the month. Léon Gambetta died, from a mysterious wound, at Ville d'Avray, near Paris; and if no equally distinguished Briton had disappeared during the period, yet the decease of Archbishop Tait, and of Antony Trollope, made a blank in the ranks of Englishmen. On the 1st a new set of procedure rules was agreed to by the House of Commons; on the 4th the Queen opened the new Law Courts, on which occasion I was present accompanied by the late Mr. Justice Spankie. The sight was

impressive, a crowd of barristers being present in their forensic costume, the Queen's Counsel in full bottom perukes; as her Majesty entered, a sunbeam pierced the wintry sky and crossed the Gothic Hall; and the gracious Lady proceeded to her *dais*, whence she delivered a short address in her clear, sweet, voice, supported on either side by Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt in their glistening robes of office.

In the following February an enquiry was held at Dublin into the circumstances of the Phoenix Park murders, and the discovery was made that the Fenian Society included an inner ring of criminals associated for the assassination of public servants: James Carey, a Dublin Town councillor, who had been privy to the murders, being among the Approvers. The Parliamentary Session was almost entirely absorbed in two subjects, Irish disaffection and Mr. Bradlaugh's endeavours to force his way into the House, culminating in a riotous meeting in Trafalgar Square, and an action at law in which the free-thinking M.P. was sentenced to a fine of £500, on the 30th of June. Unusual attention was drawn to India by the agitation arising out of the proposed alteration of the law of Criminal Procedure, oddly designated "the Ilbert Bill," after the Legislative Member of Council who had drafted the measure in the ordinary routine of his duties. On 27th June Lord Salisbury made a speech, to which he now, probably, hardly cares to look back; Mr. Chamberlain's programme was, he said, pure Jacobinism; and it was, to his lordship, a source of wonder that Mr. Chamberlain was allowed a seat in the ministry (Mr. Chamberlain being President of the Board of Trade under Gladstone). On the 29th Sir W. Harcourt, for his part, expressed warm appreciation of Lord Rosebery. Such are the vicissitudes of opinion in high places. In July Carey, the Dublin approver, was assassinated at Port Elizabeth by one O'Donnell, doubtless an agent of Fenian vengeance.* In the following month four Irishmen were sentenced to penal servitude for life on a charge of conspiring to destroy public buildings—a new gunpowder plot with the improved resources of modern science. On the 6th December Lord Ripon announced in Council that the "Ilbert Bill" had been approved by the Home Government with modifications restricting jurisdiction to District Magistrates and Session Judges, who would be *ex-officio* Justices of the Peace. These were some of the salient features of the year in which were recorded the notes from which I proceed to make a few extracts.

Monday, 22nd January 1883.—Rather hard day in Town; lunch at Athenæum with Mat. Arnold: thence to the rooms of the Asiatic Society, in Albemarle Street: met Dr. R. N. Cust,

* O'Donnell was hanged at Newgate on 27th December.

Vaux, and Terrien de la Couperie. After dinner went by special invitation to R. Inst. of British Architects to join in discussion on paper by old Will. Simpson about Himalayan Architecture, which he thinks taken from wooden huts. Lord Stanley, of Alderley; Col. H. Yule; General Maclagan, all speaking.

Tuesday, 30th.—Indian mail in. A.—indignant at my C.I.E., but I am not responsible, never having asked—or even wished for—such a thing. I have no doubt Lord R. meant it kindly.

Thursday, 15th February.—Parliament opened by Commission. Tried to get through crowd; at last arrived in Broad Sanctuary by way of the Embankment; crowd very dense, but got through by S. Margaret's to the Peers' entrance, and got into the Lord's lobby: here T. came to me and took me in. Debate on the address and funny spectacle of old men in robes, taking off and replacing cocked hats that did not fit.

Monday, 19th.—Called on Mr. Ely at University College to obtain information about vacancy as Prof. of Indian Law and History; kind promise of support from Lord N.

Thursday, 8th March.—More promises of support at Gower Street.*

Saturday, 10th.—Friendly letter from T. offering introduction to Lord R. A member of the family went to town at 4-50, protesting to the last against the inaccuracy of a Railway porter who assured her that the train would not start till ten minutes to five.

Friday, 22nd.—Called on Major A. at Bedford Park, a very remarkable place; with dense masses of Queen Anne houses (detached) of red brick-work; artificiality trying to look simple; no shops, one inn, a club, stores, school of art, and a nightmare church calculated to make orthodoxy intolerable—if anything could.

Saturday, 23rd.—Interesting conversation with— at the Athenæum. He said that Max Müller made Indian Aryans and their institutions too primitive. In modern matters English Society hastening to disintegration: Chamberlain practically a Tory; Conservatism idle in itself, as health in social organism must demand change: but it might be useful to slacken downhill speed, like a brake.

Tuesday, 27th.—Finished Mallock's "Social Equality," a book that may be applicable to Anarchists, but is no refutation of Liberals: he shows—what is pretty obvious—that a graded society is favourable to ambition, and so to progress. But what Liberals appear to insist on is that the minority of persons naturally privileged—born with silver or gold spoons in their

* The attempt failed, owing—I was told—to one's not having been called to the Bar.

mouths—ought not to be further endowed with advantages other than what fortune has already given them. It is not social but political inequality that is the blot of the old sort of European societies—founded mostly on conquest.

Friday, 6th April.—To Society of Arts about lecturing.

Tuesday, 10th.—To a meeting at Grosvenor House to see a testimonial presented to Ernest Hart. I did not quite know why; but was glad to see a number of distinguished folks, and still more to make acquaintance with the Duke's small but beautiful collection of pictures, among them Gainsborough's famous "Blue Boy" and one of the three copies of Reynolds' "Mrs. Siddons." When I say "copy," I would not imply that the one at Grosvenor House is not an original, but only that there is another at Dulwich and a third somewhere else, while Sir Joshua's "Note book" only mentions the painting of *one*, for which he records that he was paid 700 guineas. I asked Richmond, the oldest of extant Academicians, to tell me which he thought the original; he was born in 1809 and might have heard authentic traditions. He would not, however, undertake to say which of the three was original; adding—"you see we don't paint any of our pictures; we only sketch them in, and then make them over to our pupils: when they think the work finished, we take it into our studios and play with it, and put in what we call 'artistic merit.'" I knew that this was done by sculptors, having seen mason-looking men in paper caps chiselling in Gibson's atelier at Rome: but did not know that similar procedure was usual in painting.

Friday, 27th.—To House of Commons: Gladstone made a great speech on the Affirmation Bill:—"I do not hesitate to say that the specific form of irreligion with which, in the educated society of this country, you have to deal . . . is not blank Atheism; that is a rare opinion and seldom met with: but . . . those forms of thought which hold that whatever is beyond the visible scene, whatever is beyond the short span of life, you know—and can know—nothing about: it is a visionary and bootless undertaking to try to establish relations with it." Of course this, if true, is a description of Epicurus, his school, and takes us back to the days of Lucretius. One doubts if our modern Agnostics go quite so far [G. O. M. not in touch with contemporary opinions.]

Saturday, 12th May.—At Lady W.'s. Met Genevieve Ward and Mathilde Blind. A note from Lord N. about a club he is instituting for the excellent purpose of enabling those interested in India to meet natives of that country visiting England.*

* This Club ultimately failed; and the premises are now in the occupation of a publishing firm. It was known to the profane as "the Black Hole of Calcutta."

Friday.—To Exeter Hall, where I met Lord Stanley and made final arrangements for my Lecture, at which he was to be Chairman. The Hall well filled, and lecture well received: the report in the papers saying that I showed that Lord Ripon's project ("Ilbert Bill") had been premature and had raised up an amount of class antagonism that could not but be highly prejudicial. Discussion ensued (cheers were given to the pro-native sentiments).

Monday, 21st.—Went to N. Club by invitation to see the Prince of Wales declare it "open:" a number of Anglo-Indian celebrities and a few Indians. Dinner of R. A. Society at St. James's Hall, Sir Bartle Frere in the Chair very bland.

Wednesday, 23rd.—Went with Mr. C. J.—to see the famous Chiswick House, now in the occupation of Lord Bute, who was not there, but had most kindly arranged for our reception. It is a fine villa, said to have been built by Inigo Jones from a design by Palladio; standing in 25 acres of ground, with superb hot-houses, 100 yards in length. In front some fine cedars, dating from the Revolution, sweep the green velvet of the lawn with dark branches. The ground-floor only meant for use in very hot weather: an external staircase leads to the principal suite which is magnificently furnished and hung with rare pictures, including Vandykes, Teniers, a fine Rubens, and two good Tintorets. We were shown the bed-room in which George Canning died. It seemed strange to find such a scene of rural beauty within five miles of Charing Cross, and to see a heron rise out of the sedges as his ancestors may have done before the beginning of history.

Saturday, 26th.—To Lady F.'s where they had a dress-rehearsal of a spectacle from Homer, called "The Tale of Troy."—the Greek verses being spouted by a troop of Girton girls, led by Brandram and Mrs. Beerbohm Tree; with an accompaniment of curious pentatonic music by Messrs. Otto Goldschmidt, M. Lawson, W. Parratt and Professor W. H. Monk. The *mise-en-scène* was under the capable hands of Sir F. Leighton, P.R.A., Messrs. Watts, Poynter (R. A. S.) and others. Several very lovely ladies took part: among whom one recognised Mrs. Trevor Plowden, Mrs. George Batten, and Miss Laura Craigie-Halkett.

Monday, 28th.—Dined, with General N., at Willis's Rooms, being the anniversary of the Geographical Society, whereof my host is a Fellow. Lord Lansdowne spoke; Huxley was in the Chair. Some other (rather dull) speeches, of which it struck us that Huxley made the best.

Friday, 1st June. To Exeter Hall, to hear a paper by Miss Nightingale on "The Ryots of India." Discussion followed, in which I took part, along with Lord S., Sir G. Campbell and

others—more or less experts. Lunch at Northbrook Club with Yule, Sir G. Birdwood and F.

Saturday, 2nd.—Took E. to *matinée* at Vaudeville Theatre : met. C.B., who said he hated to see plays in the daytime, but—being himself an Actor—had no other chance. The piece was the immortal “Rivals,” in which in youth I had often acted. Mrs. Stirling an excellent “Malaprop;” and I thought Farren’s “Absolute” better than his father’s, equally graceful and more vigorous. Thence to Lady W.’s Reception : where—was not wholly pleased.

Thursday, 7th.—This afternoon saw a sight I should not have expected in this highly policed land. A youth galloped down the lane by my study-window ; leaped his horse over the gate at the end, flung himself off and disappeared : presently followed a mounted Constable in pursuit, who got the horse, but not the rider, who—it was said—had stolen the animal and ridden it over in broad midsummer daylight from Hounslow.

Thursday, 14th.—To the Olympic with E. and A. The piece, called in English “The Queen’s Favourite”—was an adaptation of Scribe’s “Un Verre d’eau,” and very well played by Miss G. Ward and Mr. W. H. Vernon. A daughter of old Buckstone’s made a pretty *Abigail*, and a minor part was taken by Miss Achurch.* As history the play is stark nought ; but Miss Genevieve put her culture and her fire into the part of the Duchess. I visited her behind the scenes with the compliments of our party and was introduced into the Green-room.

Friday, 15th.—To Levée at St. James’s, held by Prince on behalf of his royal mother. Beekeepers interesting as survivals, Gentlemen-at-arms rather *rococo* in ancient-modern dress. A great crowd of officers, some of whom one knew. Presented by Lord N. [H. R. H. supported by Duke of Cambridge.]

Monday, 18th.—Spent an hour and a half at the R. A. Exhibition, making notes in Catalogue for future use. To R. A. S. with Colonel G., to read paper—“Can India be made interesting ?” Discussion by Dr. Leitner, Colonel Keatinge, Jas. Fergusson and Mr. Colborne Baber.†

Wednesday, 20th.—Talk with Sir L. M. at Club : he is always full of information and anecdote. Called on Vaux in the afternoon and went to Grosvenor Gallery to see pictures by Degas, Manet, and others of the French “impressionist” school : it struck one that they would not do.

Tuesday, 24th July.—To Twickenham with E. S. P., an old brother-officer and a man of culture, to see the contents of Strawberry Hill. The former sale (April 1842) had dispersed

* Janet Achurch Ward, since *m.* to Mr. C. Charrington, and well-known as the interpreter of Ibsen’s female characters.

† Orientalist, since dead.

much of the old collection of H. Walpole ; but some still remained, including an alleged Gian Bellini, some fair historical portraits, and the marvellous group of three ladies by Sir Joshua which was long since insured for £ 10,000. The rooms in the old part of the house are too low ; but the more modern rooms very good. There was some very pretty china, with very quaint furniture. The grounds were not open. It was interesting to see the last of a famous home.*

Wednesday, 29th August.—E. and I went to lunch with Archdeacon Cheetham at the " Old College," Dulwich. [Of course this is the real " College of God's Gift," founded by Alleyne, *temp.* Jacob. I.; the other is a mere school, misnamed " College," according to the loose magniloquence of our day.] It is a fine old building, and the Warden's rooms look out upon a still and sheltered garden. We enjoyed the picture-gallery, with many fine works from Teniers to Reynolds, so strangely brought together by Desenfans and Bourgeois. Amongst them is the *replica* of Sir Joshua's " Mrs. Siddons" referred to in mention of the Duke of Westminster's collection above,† (10th April).

Monday, 22nd October.—Read paper on The Taj at Agra before the Royal Institute of British Architects. [The Secretary was good enough to say that my writings on the subject were " of more value than you perhaps imagine." He considered me to have solved the problem of " the real authorship of the designs for the Taj."]

Thursday, 22nd November.—Singular inquest on an Afghan residing in Montagu-Place. His name was Ismail Khan, and he had passed as a Surgeon and also as a Physician, but had failed in obtaining employment. He took prussic acid, recording his conviction that the act was a " sane " one, and bequeathing his body to the London University Hospital for scientific uses.

Saturday, 24th.—Reading autobiography of Sir A. Alison, the historian. Evidently a courageous, indefatigable man ; whose narrowness gives his reader an occasional start. He tells us, in so many words, that Providence co-operated in his *History of Modern Europe* by arranging the incidents in an instructive sequence. It is significant of the want of reflective power, too, that, after persistently arguing that Free Trade

* Inherited by Lady Waldegrave, daughter of the famous singer, Braham : married (*en secondes nocces*) Lord Carlingford, who sold the property after her demise.

† These paintings were originally acquired under commission from Stanislaus Lesczynski, King of Poland ; but, that somewhat theatric sovereign having lost his throne and civil list, the pictures were not sent to him ; and, after long lying neglected in a private house in London, were bequeathed to Dulwich by Sir F. Bourgeois.

had set on foot the ruin of the country, he says—towards the end of his book—that the condition of the nation is still prosperous and that commerce and manufacturing industry are immensely increasing. Also that London with its poor and crowded population was kept in order by unarmed policemen. Not exactly signs of ruin surely, nor did they then cease. Between the time when he wrote and the year 1881—a period of ten years—the Savings' Bank deposits had increased from 41 to 77 millions, and the Income-Tax returns from 434 millions to 578, while the National Debt had decreased by more than 30 millions. Convictions of criminals were lower, as also the percentage of pauperism.

Monday, 24th December.—In the evening S. C. took me to a subterranean cavern opposite the Aquarium, where a man with dislocated aspirates read some vulgar politics to a staff of shorthand reporters out of work, and a boy sang sweetly.

The year ended in a new house ; and its experiences were recorded in the subjoined doggrel :—

Ah ! London, dear London ! what joy to regain
The streets and the parks that we loved so in youth,
And loved they are still, though the wind and the rain
Take the charm from the scenes if they add to their truth.

How often, when parched by a tropical sun,
For a chill or a shower one hungered and prayed,
And now, when our exile is over and done,
One is wrong to complain of the damp and the shade.

It is true that the life is both irksome and gray,
And the sky of our fortune is oftentimes dark ;
That Honesta works kerchiefs at nine pence a day
While her sister Anonyma rides in the Park.

If a house in the suburbs is all you maintain,
The rent will be high though the site may be low,
And they'll offer a Dado instead of a drain,
With facsimile tenements ending the row.

Then the neighbours will stare at you all the first year,
As if wondering ' Who can this pick-pocket be ?'
In the second some cards at your door may appear,
And the clergyman ask you to five o'clock tea.

Yet you live—while life lasts—in your own motherland,
Whose sons may be rough, but are truthful and brave,
And—whatever their conduct—you quite understand
If she grudge you a k^{ing} you a grave !

CHAPTER II.

(1884.)

For the greater part of this year we remained at Ealing, interested spectators of a drama very new to our experience, London had many shocks during the earlier months, shocks of which some were physical as well as moral; the playful Fenians pursued their dynamitic diversions; the Russians made moves in Central Asia which gave us fits of what the Duke of Argyll called "Mervousness;" the despatch of Chinese Gordon on a mission to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons from the Sudan led to anxiety and expense which seemed to have no promise of advantage; a small rebellion had to be dealt with in British America, concluded by the incident—so rare in modern times—of a rebel leader dying on the scaffold; Gladstone and his then followers felt the recoil of the Sudan disasters in spite of a spirited little campaign on the Red Sea littoral. The veteran parliamentary hand did not, indeed, shake, ostensibly, and the fiery cross began to wave in Midlothian; but some of the other Ministers gave signs of weariness or weakened allegiance, while one or two announced views bordering on socialism. The cold sinister influence of the Irish conspirators was working half unseen.

Amid all these distractions private life had to go on as best it could: all sorts of efforts had to be made for the establishment of a footing in the world; one did a little journalism for Indian papers, and for the *Academy*. The intervals were used in the preparation of a History of Indian Moslem dynasties, afterwards published by W. H. Allen & Co.

Monday, January 14th.—Finished Bishop Wilberforce's *Life*; a not very skilful or amiable book, yet yielding a clear picture. The man was a somewhat worldly-minded and—under a bland exterior—a pugnacious Priest, with extreme views as to the need and power of Dogma. But there was a thicker stratum of sincerity in his character than what was inferred from superficial symptoms. His chief defect was, perhaps, a failure to realise the principle of evolution—changes in the organism in response to changes in surroundings. So he went on offering stones from the Past to a time that demanded not only the bread of life but also the fruit of the Hesperides. But it was an acute and able personality. I heard him preach, in 1862, and was somehow reminded of Spurgeon.

Wednesday, 23rd.—Official forecast of weather: "Wind North-West, changeable, colde." Actual facts: Wind South-West, very high, rain.

Thursday, 24th.—

novel: much observation
nt mannerism; a stren-
chee-chee talk and doings,

which is perhaps the main novelty. Some of the characters have a curious habit of being reminded of quotations from English or foreign poets in critical moments of life, which seems a false generalisation, since the number of people who do such things is too small to constitute a type.

Gordon leaves London to go to the Sudan: British Government having ordered all the Egyptian garrisons to be withdrawn, which is resented by the Egyptian Government, all whose members resign.

Monday, 28th.—Called on the W. s. No one in save the Papist daughter, with whom an interesting talk. There is something very pathetic in any human effort to transmute evil into good, and hammer the pure metal out of the stubborn ore of Destiny. Does it not seem as if "Nature" represented an ore—a raw material, neither hostile nor friendly, but fundamentally indifferent and even amenable to skilful handling? For efforts of this kind a highly organised theosophy like that of Rome is a most effectual implement for those who can accept it. Returned to find the plumber at work; he too—were he but in earnest—is grappling with Destiny; but an Indian Bungalow that needs no drainage is a simpler thing.

Thursday, 31st.—A kind letter from Lady C. in Ireland, who has evidently overcome some sort of crisis. "We shall be very glad to see you. . . . We thought it better not to leave home at present, as some of the party declared that if they went away they would never return, after the sad events that have occurred here. But all are beginning to get over the shock; and by the time you come we shall be having a new . . . and all be bright again."

Saturday, February, 2nd.—A familiar figure gone from the Athenæum, in Abraham Hayward, Q. C., famous in the imbroglio of Mrs. N. and a deceased statesman.* His notice of *Vanity Fair* in the *Quarterly* was said to have given the needful push when that great work of fiction was making an almost hopeless struggle in monthly parts.

A fine cartoon by Tenniel in *Punch*, representing General Gordon Pasha giving Mr. Gladstone "a lift." A Radical M. P. says the G. O. M. looked at it sadly, murmuring—"Yes, it is quite true; and when he falls I shall fall too."

Thursday, 7th.—Great excitement on a rumour that Gordon had been captured. Every one speculates on the effect that such a disaster may have on current affairs. Will Ministers be seriously attacked by the Opposition? They have probably a substantial majority in the House, but the country may turn

* Afterwards idealised in Mr. Meredith's very charming tale "Diana of the Crossways."

- very hostile. *Tros, Rutilusve.* . . 'tis all one to Heracleides.

Monday, 11th.—Strange weather; rain, sunshine, sleet, lightning, all in succession. The papers report that Bradlaugh has been excluded from the Commons on the motion of Sir Stafford Northcote, ensuing upon a judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench (*per* Coleridge, *C. J.* and Stephen *J.*), majority of 108.

Tuesday, 12th.—News of the full of Sinkat and massacre of garrison. Verses in *Vanity Fair*:—"Another slaughter by Egypt's water, etc." Vote of censure in the House of Lords, 100 majority; vote negatived in Commons by a narrow majority of 13.

Friday, 22nd.—Impertinent letter from Messrs.—and—about undertaking my *History*: no ruder being than a prosperous publisher, a tradesman playing at being Maecenas. They live in opulence, with liveried footmen handing round silver plates; and they drink their champagne—as Tom Campbell said—out of authors' skulls.*

Dynamite explosions apprehended.

Thursday, 28th.—General anxiety about Sir Gerald Graham's position at Suakin† Went with S. to the chapel of the convent in Kensington Square, where the Perpetual Adoration was being held: Ghostlike gliding of nuns in the still precincts rather impressive, even to an outsider: *one* is always on duty, so that the Adoration never ceases.

Heard on coming out that Graham's advance had been stopped. Explosion at Charing Cross, only frustrated by time-fuse not acting as intended.

Tuesday, March 4th.—Meeting in Parliament Street to found "Indian Reform Association." Why?

Wednesday, 5th.—Enormous crush at Lady F's; seven hundred said to have been in the house at once. Performance included selections from an opera called "*Ostrolenko*;" by Bonawitz, who conducted, on piano, a little afterpiece called "*Darby and Joan*," in which only two characters appeared, which were played by George Alexander and Miss Lucy Roche. Among the audience were the Princess Frederica of Hanover and the fair American, Miss Mary Anderson.‡ Refreshments on the scale of gorgeous Ball-supper.

Tuesday, 25th.—Dinner at Northbrook Club: my guest was Lord H. John Bright made a neat and pleasant after-dinner speech.

Sunday, 30th.—To some studios in Kensington. Met Mrs.

* Sir Walter Besant has done much to rectify this.

† General Sir G. Graham, V. C., etc., died at Bideford in the beginning of 1900: one of the bravest and most courteous of Knights.

‡ Afterwards Mme. Navarro de Viana.

Stirling*, an interesting old lady whom I recollect as a lovely young woman and excellent actress when I used to frequent the Haymarket in Buckstone's days. These mornings with the artists—or rather afternoons, but your visit must be before the light fails—are full of pleasure, and you need only pay with a little benevolent appreciation.

Thursday, April 3rd.—Attack on Government in Commons: meant evidently to annoy, possibly to defeat and overturn—principally arising out of Egypt and Gordon. Lord Hartington explained refusal of Gordon's application for services of Zebehr Pasha, saying that Government thought risk too great. Gordon had never been promised support from this country, but had full authority to return if he found his task too difficult. He had never asked for military aid, clearly understanding that, if he executed his mission, it must be with resources on the spot.

Friday, 4th.—Lord Granville took up the parable in the Lords, repeating the explanations given in the other Chamber. He said that he himself had been more anxious for Gordon at the beginning of his incumbency in the Sudan than he was now.

Friday, 18th.—Harcourt made speech at Derby yesterday defending action of Government in regard to Gordon: denying most peremptorily that they were indifferent to the interests of "that illustrious man, who had sent no accounts that would intimate that he considered himself in any personal danger at Khartum." Not the sort of thing he would do! A member of his family tells me that every confidence is felt in his resourcefulness.

Met Lord—who said India was as good as lost, and—of course—my pension with it. On my hoping that her Ladyship liked—where she was travelling, he answered—"Yes; and he hoped she would stay there."

Monday, 28th.—Lord Granville announced yesterday that a Joint Commission had been agreed upon between this country and Russia for delimitation of Afghan frontier.

Wednesday, 30th.—To Grosvenor Gallery; meeting Sir R. Cross—an old contemporary at Anstey's, Rugby. Conversation at Ealing in the evening, where I showed some fine photographs of Kauffman's campaign from pictures by Vereschagin—who had given them to me: they excited general attention.

May, Friday, 2nd.—Dinner at Northbrook Club to send off Evelyn Baring.† A distinguished assemblage, including Lords

* Lady Gregory.

† Afterwards so distinguished in Egyptian administration, as Viscount Cromer, G. C. B., etc.

Northbrook, Kimberley, and Lawrence, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Lewis Pelly, Sir George Kellner, Hon. E. Drummond, Gen. Keatinge, Col. Beynon, and many others, chiefly of the Anglo-Indian type. Lord N. spoke well and Baring excellently, referring to the ability shown in Indian administration and to the want of it in that of Egypt—which, indeed, he called “detestably bad.” Perhaps the contrast may be overworked?

Wednesday, 7th.—Heard that deceased wife’s sister had got through the Commons with over 100 majority. Will the prospect of having only one mother-in-law prove equally seductive to their Lordships in the Upper House?

Monday, 12th.—To Exeter Hall to deliver address on the N.-W. Frontier of India. Col. Malleon in the chair. In subsequent discussion Marvin and Leitner took part. Among others present were Lord S., Sir Orfeur Cavenagh, Messrs. Martin Wood and Seton-Karr. Paper seemed to be favourably received. The situation is exciting; and we hear that Sir Peter Lumsden has been recalled [see note at end of Chapter 7].

Sunday, 18th.—The *Observer* announces that Lord Granville has addressed the *Chargé d’affaires* at Cairo, directing him to inform Gen. Gordon that, as the original plan for evacuating Khartum proved futile, and there was no immediate prospect of aggressive operations against the Mahdi, he should arrange to remove himself and garrison from Khartum. These middle-aged men (who are no conjurors) remind one of the conjurors of the Middle Ages threatened by their unemployed familiar.

Lord Lytton told me the other day that he liked Watts’ portrait of him in the Grosvenor Gallery. But who can do pictorial justice to those dreamy eyes?

Monday, 19th.—Royal Asiatic dinner, with Sir W. M. in the chair: quite forgot the fixture until too late to go.

Friday 23rd.—Forenoon at the Academy; some interesting pictures by artists one knew; Calderon; Prinsep; Solomon; McCallum, etc. Lunched at Club with Sir H. Maine and Matt. Arnold: and played billiards with Sir R. Collier, who told me a curious thing about the Allahabad High Court. He said they had reversed every judgment that had come thence before the P. C. since—had been Chief (I presume he meant “reversed or disturbed.”)

Saturday, 24th.—A bachelor dinner party in Cornwall Garden, meeting Lord G. H. and some other M. P.s and journalists: the guest of honour being a young noble from Haidarabad—Nawab Zafar Jang.

Friday, 30th.—Dynamite explosion at Junior Carlton (*paries cum proximus ardet*).—a sad perversion of science that vindicates Irish national aspirations by blowing up London kitchen-maids! Dined at the Wards, meeting Col. Morse, U. S. A., Col. A.

Ward—Miss W.'s brother, formerly in Mr. Washbourne's Embassy at Paris during the great war. The old mother a most able and interesting woman, widow of the son of Gen. W. who commanded the first force raised in the Revolution. Consulted Col. Morse about lecturing in America, and arrived at the conclusion that the Yankees only cared for celebrated names.*

June Tuesday, 3rd.—Played billiards at Athenæum with Sir E. Hamley, who gave me a copy of his Lecture on Merv. In the evening to Globe Theatre, where T. had a box for Lady G. and Mrs. A. The piece was "The Private Secretary," a three Act farce from the German, in which Penley played a weak-minded Curate with astonishing realism. The two widows laughed until they cried.

Tuesday, 10th.—Indian Tableaux by Val. Prinsep at the Prince's Hall: very gorgeous show, with flabby words. Lord Northbrook, Sir Wm. Muir, Gen. Walker, etc.

Monday, 23rd.—"Song of the Bell" Tableaux at Lady F.'s, music by Romberg, on which Lawson had embroidered patterns from himself and Wagner. Lighting better than at Prince's Hall, and show otherwise quite as good.

Saturday, 28th.—Pretty rural house in the heart of "South Kensington" (used to be Brompton when Lady—lived at Eagle Lodge hard by). Met—, a dull old antiquarian who disbelieves the reading of cuneiform and everything but his own digging.

July, Tuesday, 1st.—Took A. to Lord's to see Oxford and Cambridge match, an easy thing for Oxford. A gay gathering, nearly 20,000 passed the turnstiles: met Lord—; Col. W. (10th Hussars), and many other acquaintances.

Tuesday, 15th.—S. Swithin rainy. Dined at Northbrook, Sir H. Maine in chair. Among those present was Sir F. H., who had been high in office when I landed in Bengal 38 years ago, and still looked as strong as possible.†

Friday, 18th.—Sent an article to the *Calcutta*—on the expansion of Indian Railway system, based on the very best information. The House of Commons grants a loan of 28 millions to be spread over five years; 5,000 miles of new rail being absolutely necessary to protect the country from famine;—we may say to Britannia: These are imperial Arts, and worthy Thee.

Tuesday, 22nd.—"Special Matinée" at the Globe, to give dramatic and other rights to a new Play, "The Lost Cause;" title too prophetic, in spite of Miss Lingard and pretty Lucy Buckstone.

* An anecdote illustrative of this was told me long afterwards by Holman Hunt; as will be recorded in its due order.

† This gentleman entered the service before I was born; and is alive to this day (January 1900.)

August, Friday, 1st.—Interesting talk at Athenæum with several prominent men. One, a Cabinet Minister, looked white and weary; and said “he did not like the life; out of bed till 3 every morning, badgered and baited” (I must not say by whom). He evidently thought it would be a happy release to be turned out, only the Tories could not retain power unless they could get 40 votes—which would involve a transaction with Parnell. Called on Mr. Albert Grey at Dorchester House: magnificent place with some good pictures.

Tuesday, 5th—Dinner at Northbrook: Sir C. Petheram; * Mr. St. John Ackers, the friend of the dumb; Sir R. T. and other Anglo-Indian worthies. Lord N. made a nice little speech, and Sir W. H. responded gracefully; about 120 present. Mr. A. explained his system of lip reading, the essence of which was *no talking on fingers*. Said there were people conducting factories and places where a great many hands worked, the conductors being both dumb and deaf.

[For the next few days travelled in the West; Malvern, Hereford, and N. Wales. Kind invitation to visit “Tom” Hughes at Chester † which unhappily did not come off, and I never saw him till his death in the Spring of 1886]

Wednesday, 13th.—To Stratford-on-Avon, the guest of Mr. S. M., who has a charming house there.

Thursday, 14th.—A pleasant day. Visited church and found the famous monument in chancel (appears older than nave). Fine Carew monuments in a side aisle. The bust very convincing; gives one the idea of having been modelled on a *post mortem* mask; the cheeks falling. Beautiful house, greenhouses and grounds of the F.s on the river bank. The birth-place a low-ceiled room in the famous old house; two enthusiastic old ladies live and take care. ‡ An oil-picture, given by the late Mr. Hunt, corresponds with the bust if we only suppose it to have been painted during the vigour of life; said to have been discovered beneath another portrait in a neighbouring manor-house. The Shakspeare Memorial, a handsome building, containing a theatre with fine drop scene by Beverley. Drove along the skirts of the Cotswolds, a landscape the Bard must have often surveyed in his youth. Anne Hathaway’s pretty old cottage at Shottery.

Saturday, 30th.—London season quite over: ~~close time for~~ politics ought to be beginning when that of the partridges ends; but the buoyant G. O. M. is off to Mid Lothian to seek

* About to sail for India as Chief Justice, N.-W. P.

† Judge of County Court, and famous author of the day [Tom Browne’s *Schooldays*, etc.] We had never met since Rugby days.

‡ Misses Chattaway, now both dead. There are some interesting autographs on the walls. Scott and Tennyson among them.

a fresh lease of popular support among the canny compatriots of those regions. In his "Triumphal Progress" from Hawarden to Dalmeny he sounded the praises of his new Franchise Bill; which, after all, is the logical issue of Dizzy's legislation in 1867.

Wednesday, September 3rd.—In Gladstone's first speech (Edinburgh, 1st current) he claimed that his Bill was a very moderate measure, full of concessions to Tory feeling. He would not wait for Redistribution; and ended by throwing out threats to the Lords. On the following day he took up his parable; concluding by the announcement that Ministers were "considering the best way of fulfilling obligations to Gen. Gordon" (which they had repudiated in May).

Saturday, 13th.—Hinting to a pretty woman's husband about being indulgent, was told in answer that "women were all deceitful." I objected that, if so, it was because men frightened them: they are wild tender things, and if you don't win their trust, their natural defence is to deceive you. Did not think he quite understood.

Friday 19th.—Heard the lady's side of the story, and felt pretty sure that my explanation had been the right one. But they are not much more than casual acquaintances, not what a Frenchman would call "*des amis*;" and I could not do more than profess sympathy and offer *banal* advice.

An eloquent and in all respects remarkable speech by Mr. J. Cowen, M. P. He told the working men that political enfranchisement was nothing unless they could enfranchise themselves mentally and morally. He would warn them against drink and against rash wage-combinations. Of pauperism he said, in conclusion, that "if Society did not settle it, in time it will settle Society."

[*On the 24th.*—I crossed over to Jersey, whither the family had been already despatched. The scene of departure was afterwards idealised, in an imitation of Juvenal's Third *Satire*, published by Vizetelly:—*

"Though Jack's departure leaves one rather low,

I cannot say I thought him wrong to go,

To cross the Channel on a cranky bark

And give one more inhabitant to Sark.

I went to see him off from Waterloo,

Where five-and-twenty shillings booked him through,

Himself and baggage to the station got—

An average four-wheeler held the lot.

etc. etc. etc."

October, Friday, 17th.—Curious experience of Channel Islands law—servants leaving without warning awarded a moiety of wages.

* *Juvenal in Piccadilly*, 1888.

November, Saturday, 1st.—At the Lieutenant-Governor's ; where I met a local antiquary and official who gravely discussed with me the relative claims of French and British citizenship. He decided in favour of the latter ; but only on the principle of *quieta non movere* ; and it seemed altogether a strange subject to be raised in such a place.

December.—Wrote part of paper on Channel Islands for the *Quarterly*.

Tuesday, 30th.—Back to England, having undertaken office of Bear leader to a Raja's younger brother, whom I am to take into London Society, and so forth.

Wednesday, 31st.—A lady writes " this has been an unlucky year, because we did not sit up on last New Year's Eve to see it in." These artificial divisions of time are a strange feature in the artificial lives of civilised beings. Savages, to whom they are unknown, would perhaps call us superstitious. " Nothing really happened to-night : in fact it is only the end of a year since 1751.

[Among public events in which the diarist had no concern, was the accomplished century of Sir M. Montefiore, celebrated with much *éclat*, at Broadstairs. It might be argued that a century is also an artificial division ; but the interest here is that a distinguished man had publicly declared that no case had ever been proved of a person living 36,500 days ; and this was one. In November a vote was taken for an expedition to rescue Gordon ; which, of course, ought to have been done long before if it was to be done at all—but that was long denied by the Government. On the 20th of November Miss Finney—known on the stage as Miss Fortescue—got heavy damages in an action for breach against the eldest son of Earl Cairns, whose courtesy-title was Lord Garmboyle. The case gave rise to the following mild joke :—

" The dearest oil in London is Garm-oil ; ten thousand pounds per gal. (girl !)."

On the 6th December the Franchise Bill was reported to have passed its third reading in the Lords, not without threats—as we have seen—from Gladstone ; enforced by Mr. Chamberlain and other supporters of the policy. The Redistribution Bill—by a compromise—was read a second time in the Commons. It passed next day with slight alterations, and a general sense of relief appeared to prevail. Some thought democracy was a tide which could not be resisted or turned back. Others, taking a less fatalistic view, still seemed to think it better that Demos should be admitted to the freedom of the city than left to batter the walls from without. All alike were glad to get rid of a controversy of which all had grown tired : and the waters closed and the ship held her

way with little change of course. The only subsequent event had nothing to do with the Franchise, being no more than another exhibition of Irish humour in the shape of a dynamite explosion at London Bridge, which did no injury to the pier, though it was said to have shaken a few foot passengers.

I find in my *Memoranda* at the end of this year's Diary a sketch of a book on "Politics for Children," to begin from the Revolution of 1688. It never got beyond *l'état de projet*, but indicates a gap that ought to be someday filled.

ART. V.—GREEK WANDERINGS.

ATHENS.

“πασῶν Ἀθῆναι τιμιωτάτη πόλις—Soph. Oed. Col. 108.

ATHENS at last, and a fine fresh morning after the rain. Nothing is more exhilarating than to rise early every morning, and fare on through the long day to some distant goal; but, after a week or so of this migratory life, it is grateful to settle down once more in a fixed habitation. And Athens, born again out of living death by the birth-pangs of 1821-1829, is a fair and noble city. By a happy fortune, too, the new Athens and the old exist side by side without too confusing an involution. The Acropolis is the connecting link, the common root as it were, and also the centre of divergence. Stand on the Acropolis hill and look one way, you have below you Mars' Hill, the Agora, the Pnyx, the Ceramicus on the edge of an almost unoccupied plain that extends down to Phalerum and the sea. Look the other way, you have the well-ordered expanse of modern Athens, cleft by the broad lines of its main thoroughfares that run between substantial rows of handsome houses in white stone,—a city wide in extent, adorned with public buildings amply proportioned, presenting from every point of view an aspect of spaciousness, airiness and cleanliness. There are but few factory chimneys as yet to mar the harmony of the effect,—alas that there should be any to vomit their foulness over so goodly a city! May it be long before the number is increased: let the factory chimneys be restricted to the Piræus!

A few matters of business claim us this first morning. The traveller who would know his Athens, its life as a city of to-day, as well as its antiquities, should, we hold, hire a permanent lodging; but in other ways keep himself free to go and come, to eat and drink, as he pleases. Therefore it was that we went yesterday to the Hotel Minerva, for says not Murray that at hotels of the second class you can hire a room for 3 drachmas a day, and dine abroad or at home, as you list? But the Minerva, having been recently refurnished, beautified and lighted by electricity, is aspiring, it seems, to the first rank: therefore our little difficulty of last night; for the leading hotels will welcome the stranger only, if he resides, *'en pension.'* However, there is nothing like having your whim while on your travels; and, after a little negotiation, we succeed in making our own terms at the Hotel d'Athènes, which is almost equally well situated. Indeed, when we see the room

offered to us, we conclude the change will be for the better; the old room gave only prospect of Lycabettus, while this has a little balcony which looks straight on to the Parthenon. This is the room for us.

The afternoon we spend on the Acropolis. We find, with something of a shock, that the whole west front of the Parthenon is hidden in scaffolding; some great, and it may be good, work is in progress; but none the less the noble effect of the approach is sadly marred. Moreover, no sight can we now have of the few slabs of the frieze that still remain in position within the peristyle of the temple: for all but one of these are on the west front, engulfed in a forest of scaffolding poles, and even barricaded with a hoarding. There is a wooden structure, too, bisecting the steps of the Propylæa, seemingly a shoot for blocks of stone. There is work going on also upon the eastern face of the Erechtheum, in this case obviously the preparations for taking casts of the moulding of the capitals. Altogether there are signs of very healthy activity on the summit of the Acropolis. But it is none the less bitter from the point of view of the visitor, who misses what he has come to see, and may or may not have chances of sharing the fruits of these labours.

The archæological activity going on in Athens and in Greece generally is, indeed, a little awe-inspiring. What rood of Greek earth will there be left soon which has not been compelled to render up its treasures and their story? In all the open spaces W. and S. W. of the Acropolis have shafts been sunk, cuttings made, and galleries run. Even on the top of the Acropolis rock important work has been done within the last twelve years in bringing to light masses of masonry that had been buried for ages. All this is cause for rejoicing, except that for the Englishman there may be some shade of regret that the share of his country in the great work is comparatively small. Why is not the British School at Athens better endowed, or more liberally supported? Why does not the wealthiest nation in the world spend a few thousands out of its superfluous millions in generous rivalry with the Germans and the French, since English culture owes no less to Hellas and the past of Greece than French or German?

Verily we have profited by yesterday's rain. For the streets of Athens and the Acropolis hill are cool and breezy despite the brilliant sunshine. This afternoon there is a smart shower, and followed by a wonderful double rainbow, one end of the inner arch resting exactly on Mt. Lycabettus. By moving back across the pavement of the Parthenon, we are able to get the east front well under the centre of the rainbow, an effect of colour not to be had every day. The

Acropolis draws and holds the visitor to Athens like a great magnet. On first arrival nothing else seems of any account. Tuesday morning takes us there again. The Theatre of Dionysus lies on the way as we sweep round from the Boulevard Amàlia on the east, and come under the southern face of the rock, the tiers of seats rising one above the other on the lower slope of the cliff itself, and we can conveniently pass through it instead of continuing along by the carriage-road. We have not here the satisfaction of looking on the actual structure in which the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles were first produced: none of the stone work we see is earlier than the time of Lycurgus, in the latter half of the 4th century B. C. To this period belong the marble seats of honour inscribed with the names of the dignitaries to whose office they were severally attached, and the beautiful throne of the Priest of Dionysus; but the actual inscriptions are later, probably of the time of Hadrian. Still at least we are on the site of the more ancient theatre; the seats must have risen over the slope of the rock in much the same fashion, and we can trace the circular outline of the earlier orchestra, if the severer archæological interests appeal to us. No one is about at this early hour but the soldier who acts as guardian, and a few workmen. We take the opportunity of testing for ourselves the acoustic conditions of the ancient Athenian stage. One of us sits aloft on the uppermost tier of seats yet remaining, the other stands on the Logeion, or foot-boards, of later times, and we interchange select quotations from favourite plays. The result is highly satisfactory. Every word can be heard distinctly without any effort at declamation, though we are speaking in the open air and to an empty auditorium, both of which may be reckoned as difficulties. After this we incline to think the traditional masks with their unsightly apparatus for sound to have been an unnecessary disfigurement.

You can scale the rock above the Theatre, if you please, up to the level of the Monument of Thrasyllus, now the chapel of Our Lady of the Golden Cavern (ἡ Παναγία Χρυσοσπηλιώτισσα). You may also climb along under the fine stretch of Hellenic wall on this southern side, accepted as the work of Cimon: a very handsome stretch of wall in almost perfect preservation. You cannot, however, work round over the rock right along to the Propylæa, but must come down again and pass from the Theatre through the Stoa of Asclepius, the Stoa of Eumenes and by the Odeum of Heracles Atticus.

To drive to the platform in front of the Beulé Gate, ascend the steps of the Propylæa, and duly pass round under guidance to the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Temple of Nike, the Museum, even to perform a tour laboriously, Murray or

Baedeker in hand, both round the summit and round the base of the Acropolis rock, is, after all, to know very little of the Aeropolis of Athens. To know it really and understand its charm aright, you must ascend the Propylæa daily for many days, your guide book left at home; you must wander capriciously from site to site poring over each precious fragment of stone; you must stray at leisure round the battlements poking into every odd corner, and leaning over the parapet at each fresh vantage point to gaze across the plain of Athens and the roofs of the city to the long lines of her engirding hills, or to the harbours and the sea; you must sit on some convenient stone at evening time, and watch the deepening tints of brown and pink and purple over the long ridge of Hymettus, catch the gleam of the white stone on the steep side of Pentelicus, or gaze towards the dip of Daphne and the Thriasian fields and dream of the Persian horsemen winding out of the Pass and spreading among the Athenian homesteads and farms, or see the sun decline over Skarmanga and the western glory spread over the sky from the peaks of Salamis to the ridges and bluff heights of Parnes. You must come down again and clamber and scramble over the wall-crowned steeps, till you know every cave and boulder and practicable ascent on the Acropolis cliffs.

This in some small measure we have done; but it would be long to take the reader up and down and round the whole way with us, and we cannot tell whether his tastes and ours would agree. For the rest a detailed survey of the whole plan of the Acropolis, of all that is found upon its summit and round its base is far beyond the scope of my design. Besides, what is even more effective as a deterrent against any attempt at a systematic account of the Acropolis and Athens, is that these things have been so often and so well described before that it would be rehearsing a thrice-told tale. Here we see what others have seen and much in the same way; there is nothing new to add, unless it were some reflex of the intense pleasure it all was: and even that would be nothing new, and a thing you must really get for yourself. There is no lack of information for those who seek it. There are, first, the formal guide-books very complete and detailed: then classical accounts like Wordsworth's or Mahaffy's; or, in earlier times, Leake's, Chandler's, Wheeler's. And for a brilliant and popular account, informed with the results of latest research, combining freshness of expression and literary charm, even seasoned with the salt of American humour, you should go to Dr. Barrow's "Isles and Shrines of Greece" and you will find all you want, including the inspiration of enthusiastic insight. I shall, however, allow myself the license of a little irresponsible comment, guided only

by the arbitrary principle of noticing what specially impressed or interested me.

The Acropolis is a mine of interest perfectly inexhaustible, if you will bring to it some small insight into the principles and details of Hellenic architecture. It is wonderful how a little knowledge lights up a blank wall, or a few dull stones, which without the knowledge you might pass a dozen times without seeing anything remarkable in them. The barest stones are eloquent if you interrogate them aright. Here, for instance, between the Propylæa and the Parthenon, you find grooves cut in the surface of the rock in order to give firmer foothold to man and beast as they went up. Here are manifest fittings for a gateway. There traces of the base of a column or a pedestal. Of singular interest are the protruding knobs, or handles, to be seen in a great number of the marble blocks used in the back wall of each of the wings of the Propylæa; they witness to this day to the fact that the work was suddenly broken off and left unfinished, probably owing to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. These knobs or handles were meant to help in moving the stones and putting them in position: they were to be chipped off afterwards, and the whole surface of the wall was to be finished uniformly. You can see in the South West wing, behind the little temple of Nike, how some have already been removed and the stone finished off; others have been just chipped and left in the rough, while in other cases, again, the projection has not as yet been touched. You can trace the line along which the masons were working when their labours were cut short.

Even more curious is a small pedestal on this same side of the Propylæa (S.), and close to the corner column, with an inscription to Athena Hygieia, for there is a tradition, preserved by Plutarch, that a statue was dedicated by Pericles himself to Athena in this character of Healer, in gratitude for the recovery of a favourite workman of the architect who fell from the Propylæa (when in course of construction) on this spot, and received serious injuries. Pericles dreamed a dream that Athena appeared to him, and bade him use a certain herb for the injured man's recovery. The herb was applied, the man cured, and here is the pedestal of the statue that Pericles* set up.

Altogether a corner of extraordinary interest this at the South-West extremity of the rock behind the Temple of Nike and the S. wing of the Propylæa. There is, besides, a great

* Unfortunately for this story, the inscription on the pedestal records a dedication by the Athenians. Yet this is surely a case in which poetry is more philosophical than history. Fraser's Paus. I. p. 277-9.

angle of Pelasgic wall, deep down beside the site of the ancient temple of Artemis. Quite a tangle of walls is discernible in the deep pit that has been scooped out, and it is on the blocks of the walls of the Propylæa rising above this to the west that the handles spoken of above are most conspicuous. From this south-west corner, too, the wretched defenders of the Acropolis in 480 B.C. are said to have flung themselves when the Persians scaled the opposite summit, even as the Rajpoots by the Johur Tank at Gwalior and with more deliberateness the Albanian women at Suli.

The caves round the Acropolis rock form a special feature. We have already noticed the cave above the Theatre of Dionysus which now forms a Christian church : you may see the light burning in a coloured lantern there at night. On the north side of the Acropolis, a little east of the Propylæa, are the two caves of Apollo and of Pan, high-pitched and shallow. The first of these is that connected with the story of the Ion of Euripides. Of a more thrilling interest is a third cave, considerably further along this north side. It is identified as the cave of Aglauros. It once communicated by a staircase with the summit of the Acropolis a little west of the Erechtheum. Scale the not very formidable barrier of stone fragments and go down—warily, for there is good need of wariness. After a dozen steps or so the staircase breaks off abruptly, and you look dimly into a deep, and narrow chasm, through which comes a glimmer of light from below. Murray (col. 367) suggests the investigation of this rift by the aid of a rope. But there is a readier method. Climb up over the rock a little beyond the tiny chapel at the north-west corner of the Acropolis and make your way along and up till you come to a narrow rift leading right into the side of the cliff. Wriggle yourself through this opening—you will need to wriggle slightly, for the rift, though high enough and not too narrow for a human body of average length and breadth, has a twist in the middle, and to this you must conform your shape. Once within this, the passage widens and you go forward quite easily : it is four or five feet wide at the bottom and wider above. This passage extends onwards along the face of the cliff some 30 yards, till you are directly under the broken stairway from the summit. You are inside a great cleft running lengthwise through the living rock and stretching some 40 or 50 feet above your head. Further progress is obstructed by a stone barricade, but you easily surmount this obstacle and can then make your way into the cave of Aglauros, which is a lofty arched cavern like the others on this side, but less shallow. There are a few more stairs beyond the barrier, but they end here, so that it is evident that the stairs led from this cave to the summit of the Acropolis.

It was at this point and possibly by this very stairway that the Persians scaled the rock and got possession of the Acropolis in 480 B.C. More probably the assailants contrived to climb in over the cliff. For Herodotus, though he records that they got up by the shrine of Aglauros, daughter of Cecrops, says nothing of the betrayal or discovery of the secret stairs, and there is fair probability that the cliff was scaleable. The best test of this probability is to try it for yourself. This we accordingly did, starting from below somewhat west of the cave, and found no special difficulty. To get actually on to the platform of the Acropolis the masonry at the top must be climbed hand over hand, and you make your entry exactly at the angle in the wall a little west of the Erechtheum, where there is a small breach over which a rough board has been placed. The latest stormer of the Acropolis, my companion in travel, attained the summit precisely at this breach.

The changes in the appearance of the Acropolis since the Turkish garrison vacated it, as a fortress, in 1833, have been very great. Towers, bastions, redoubts, and a great number of buildings, large and small, have been bodily removed, the approach has been entirely altered, for when the Acropolis was a Turkish fortress, the entrance was not through the Propylæa, but from a point further S., and we owe to Queen Amalia the fine road that sweeps up to the platform before the Beulé Gate. An outer Turkish gate was removed from this platform only in 1886. The clumsy mass of Roman masonry known as the Beulé Gate was unearthed in 1853. Tons upon tons of accreted matter have been removed from the base and sides. Vast accumulations of soil and a confused mass of mediæval and modern buildings have been cleared off the summit. There is a sharp conflict of opinion as to the expediency of removing all post-classical structures from the top of the Acropolis. "On the hill of the Acropolis and its buildings the whole history of Athens, from its earliest to its latest days, has been clearly written, and there it may still be clearly read wherever the barbarism of classical pedantry has not wiped out the record." (*Studies of Travel*, pp. 19, 20.) So Freeman states the ground of objection in his usual trenchant manner. The destruction of the record moves him to anger. "We can conceive nothing," he says, "more paltry, nothing more opposed to the true spirit of scholarship, than these attempts to wipe out the history of any age." (*Ib.*, p. 29.) The work of clearance has gone on in spite of Freeman's denunciations, and for our part we agree with Professor Mahaffy in rejoicing thereat. What is of priceless value for us is to recover and comprehend as much as possible of the great works of the best time of Hellenic architectural and

artistic genius. Nothing else matters very much. Anything that detracted from the unity and symmetry of that effect was better away. The retention of relics of a quaint mediævalism has, in comparison, very little weight in the scale. As to the historical aspect, the history was melancholy, déplorable, better forgotten, except occasionally for disciplinary purposes, when the revived spirit of modern Hellas tends to become overweeningly puffed up with the world's homage to Hellenic antiquity. Or, if not to be forgotten, yet not for ever to be obtruded painfully upon the sight by buildings that mar the æsthetic symmetry of the Acropolis as a monument of ancient Athens. Freeman's principle, if pressed, would be inimical to every sort of restoration, repair or improvement; would condemn the removal of whitewash from all panelling, and plaster from the carved screen. Hardly might we set up the chimney overturned in a memorable storm, or repair the breaches in a bombarded fortress. We must remember that, before this work of clearance began, the columns of the Propylæa were actually embedded in a wall of solid masonry,* as may be seen in one of Dodwell's extremely interesting pictures. One seeks in vain for a satisfactory compromise between leaving all in the state to which neglect and barbarism had reduced the Acropolis, and a thorough-going clearance. We do not certainly wish to see the Acropolis as Chandler saw it in 1765, and join in his regrets, when he writes: "The spectator views with concern the marble ruins intermixed with mean flat-roofed cottages, and extant amid rubbish the sad memorials of a nobler people." We even think the process of purgation might still with advantage be carried one or two steps further. The base of the equestrian statue of Agrippa is an unsightly block having no historical significance worth keeping, still less any essential relation to the Propylæa it disfigures. The Beulé Gate is confessedly no integral part of the original design for ennobling the approach to the Parthenon. It is heavy and ugly in itself, distracts the view of the true Propylæa and mars the due stateliness of the effect. It would be a real gain to get rid of both.

The supreme glory of the Acropolis is the Parthenon. In beauty, as distinct from grandeur, the Erechtheum comes not far behind. The little temple of Athene Nike has a unique charm. It is impossible to leave the Acropolis without a passing homage to these greatest things. There are weighty

*Both the Propylæa and the adjoining buildings have been considerably defaced in modern times; of the former the intercolumniation has been closed with a wall, so that not half the thickness of the column is seen and they thus appear destitute of proportion and elegance.

DODWELL'S TOUR.

volumes that treat of them with becoming fulness. But mere idle comment is hushed in the presence of beauty so sublime, and, in its mutilation, so pathetic. But, though you read all the books before you go, yet, standing on the summit of the Acropolis rock with the Athenian skies above your head, and these splendid marble ruins before your eyes, you shall say 'surely the half was not told me.' The beauty and the wonder are inexhaustible; nay, as with noble music, the harmony grows upon us, as we grow more familiar with its elements, and the last visit to the Parthenon is the most rich in delight.

The source of the impression in the case of the Parthenon would seem to be the unity and grandeur of the design—sheer magnificence, that is scale and proportion combined; for the subtler beauties have been shorn away with the destruction of the pediment sculptures, and the removal of the frieze. Even in this wasted state, torn and rent by the explosion caused by Morosini's shell, it is a structure of surpassing beauty. Perhaps the ruins even gain something through the forces of associative suggestion. In the case of the Erechtheum it is variety, graceful symmetry, and the marvellous richness of detail. It is needless to say anything of the charm of the Caryatides, eternally patient in endurance, yet supporting their burden with easy grace. In the temple of Wingless Victory we find the contrasted beauty of miniature. It is to the Parthenon as the carved jewel to the marble statue, each perfect in its kind.

The Museum is a dull looking building; but, besides much else of very great interest, it contains the loveliest piece of carved stone extant in the world, not excepting those matchless fragments of the sculptures from the Parthenon gable ends in the British Museum. You will find in Room IX the three well-known reliefs from the balustrade of the Temple of Nike. It is the second of these which displays such superlative skill, a perfection of mastery more than human. And this in two respects; the exquisite loveliness of the form itself and the subtle art by which the solid marble is presented to the eye as transparent drapery: this last is sheer wizardry. The other two slabs are beautiful, though not so marvellous as this.

Next to the Acropolis no spot in Athens will be so dear to the lover of Hellenic antiquity as the Ceramicus and the Street of Tombs, though for different reasons. Here, instead of the glories of art and architecture, which are almost divine, it is a gentle human interest, the pensive suggestion of the everyday joys and sorrows of Hellenic life 2000 and more years ago, with which the place is haunted. When I first saw it, it was an untidy piece of waste ground adjoining the high way to

the Piræus—at least such is my remembrance of it—not the orderly enclosure with railings and a gate (a little like a metropolitan church-yard) that it is today. But the charm was as great or greater, for the asphodels grew plentifully among the tombs, and to-day, despite the better order, the general aspect is rather bald and unattractive. We want an Athenian Society for the reclamation of grave yards to turn it into a pleasant garden and so help to supply one of the greatest wants of modern Athens, gardens and green verdure. Most of the best stelæ have been long ago taken away and placed in the National Museum, but enough are left in place to enable you, with the help of a little imagination, to build up a picture of the ancient aspect of this highway of the dead.

The enclosure includes also the Dipylon and a most interesting portion of the ancient walls of the city. The whole space enclosed is a considerable area, but it lies a little out of the way and is not very readily found. The safest way of reaching it is to follow down the road to the Piræus from the Foundling Hospital, till you come, on your left, to the railing of the enclosure, which cannot be mistaken, since the tombs and the Dipylon beyond are visible from the road. The Dipylon itself is really close to Hermes Street and the Theseum.

When you have found it, go first to the further extremity of the enclosure, even to the boundary wall on that side. So will you the better understand whereabouts you are in ancient Athens and how things looked in other days. If you stand behind the masses of masonry on the right and face towards the Piræus road, you have in front of you the great double gate through the walls of Athens, now called the Dipylon named also the Ceramic Gate (because the part of the wall it pierced separated the inner from the outer Ceramicus) and the Thriasian Gate (because the road through it led to the Thriasian plain). The Gate is double, in that there is an inner and an outer portal, with a courtyard between, 132 feet in length and 60 broad. The larger mass of masonry is on the right of the inner gateway, and well in the centre is a fragment of a round altar still showing the remains of an inscription to Zeus and Hermes. You cross the broad space of the open court and come to the outer gate which pierces the actual walls of Athens. A block of masonry is left, which occupies the centre of the roadway in a line with the altar of Zeus, and there is another mass adjoining the remains of the wall running along to the left. In this direction the line of the old wall can be traced most plainly for 100 feet or more, and not one line of walls only, but two. The first, *i. e.*, the inner line of masonry, is the Wall of Themistocles; the second, or outer, running parallel to it some 20 feet further towards

the Piræus Road, is a wall of later date, perhaps of the time of Conon. The Wall of Themistocles is especially interesting, for it bears witness at this day to the truth of Thucyclides' story of the haste with which the walls of Athens were built in order to circumvent Spartan jealousy. In the momentous year 480 B.C. Xerxes and the Persians got possession of Athens and the Acropolis, and levelled, or, at all events, broke down the fortifications. After the destruction of the host of Mardonius at Plataea in 479, the Athenians set about rebuilding their city. But the Spartan Government looked with no friendly mind on the prospect of a restored Athens stronger by reason of the ordeal through which she had perilously, but triumphantly, passed. They were better pleased with an Athens without walls. So they opened friendly negotiations and pointed out that it was far better for Greek cities to remain unwall'd like Sparta herself. Themistocles received this disinterested advice in a spirit no less amicable. By his advice the Athenians agreed to despatch commissioners to discuss the matter at Sparta and sent Themistocles himself as one of them. It was understood that the others would follow. But Themistocles charged the Athenians to push on the work with all speed and to delay the departure of the other envoy until the wall was high enough to be defensible. Every able-bodied Athenian worked night and day on the defences. Themistocles meanwhile put off the Spartan authorities on various pretexts. At last the message came that the work was well-advanced. Themistocles then informed the Spartan Government that it was too late now to discuss the matter, as the walls were already built. Thus it was that the walls of Athens and the defences of the Acropolis were thrown up in hot haste, irregularly and of any materials that came to hand—rough stones, fragments of columns, broken slabs, stelæ, bits of ornamental work from houses and temples, all the odds and ends, in fact, that came to hand,—solid stone of some sort to face the wall and a jumble of rubble inside. Even so may you see it with your eyes to-day in the portion of the wall still standing between the remains of the Dipylon and the place of tombs. The most remarkable piece of the wall is to the left (beyond the small gate that fronts the street and tombs) where the bare rocks begins to show and the ground rises in the swell that ultimately forms the Hill of the Nymphs. It is here quite 12 feet high, and shows the characteristics just described most plainly. You can walk along the top, and decipher, if you like, the fragments of inscriptions, still remaining on some of the stones.

In the first piece of the wall three other things are remarkable. The first is the extraordinary way in which one

corner of the big building (supposed to be the Pompeion) of which a part of the massive outline is left, cuts right into the city wall; one angle of the Pompeion actually makes part of the wall of the city. The second is the boundary post between the Inner and Outer Ceramicus, to be found 15 yards to the left along the wall from the Dipylon. It is a plain stone with the inscription 'Ὄρος Κεραμεικόν' cut upon it vertically. The third is the supposed Sacred Gate further again to the left, which forms a break between this and the second and more remarkable stretch of wall that reaches to the rock.

It is a base fabrication, the suggestion that this break in the wall is merely an outlet for the stream of the Eridanus, or, in plain English, a sort of drain. Standing at the Sacred Gate, you look down the Street of Tombs and see the road curving before you and presently dividing into two branches, one branch continuing the Sacred Way to Eleusis, the other turning left and following something the direction of the present high way to Piræus.

The second City Wall, a few feet in advance of the Wall of Themistocles, and running parallel to it, is better built and somewhat thicker, but has nothing like the same interest. On the extreme left, where the ground rises, it apparently made a circuit round the hill, instead of going over it, thus enlarging the boundaries within the walls.

We now leave the walls and saunter down the Street of Tombs. They still make a broken line on either side of us, though sadly thinned, as has been said. Looking to the monuments on the left hand, one comes first on a plain pillar bearing simply the name Πυθαγόρας. A little further—after a great gap—is the famous tomb sculptured with the figure of young Dexileos. Dexileos was a youth of a noble Athenian family serving in the cavalry in the year 394. He fell at Corinth along with four other young knights. The sculpture represents Dexileos on horseback piercing a fallen enemy with his lance. The inscription is very clear and runs:—

ΔΕΞΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΙΟ ΘΘΟΡΙΚΙΟΣ
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΓΓΙΤΕΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΟΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΓΕΘΑΝ ΕΓΕΥΒΟΛΙΔΟ
ΕΓΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ ΓΕΝΤΕΙ ΓΓΕΩΝ

Then after another gap we come to a farewell scene inscribed ΚΟΡΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΝΗ. Next under a large niche, now empty, are the following graceful lines:

Σῶμα μὲν εὐθαδὲ σὸν, Διονύσιε, γαῖα καλύπτει
ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθανάτων κοινὸς ἔχει ταμίας·
σοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ μητρὶ κασιγνήταις τε λέλαιπας

πένθος ἀειμνηστον σῆς φιλίας θ' ἕμερος
 δίσσαι δ' αὖ πατρίδας σῆ, μὲν φύσει ἡδὲ νόμοισιν
 ἔστερξαν πολλῆς εἵνεκα σωφροσύνης.

Further on is a Molossian dog (conspicuous in photographs of the tombs) and a very quaint group representing a funeral feast above, and Charon and his boat below. It is to be noticed that Charon has oars enough to man an eight. The much-admired Tomb of Hegeso is to be found in the space behind, on rather higher ground. Following now the right hand series from the Dipylon outwards as before, we find first a small sculpture of a horseman with a spear and the inscription ΕΝΗΣΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ. After that is a plain vase, and then a family tomb with only two roseates for ornamentation, but curiously inscribed with a series of names. Thus:

ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΗΣ
 ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΥ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΚΟΡΟΙΒΟΣ
 ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΙΔΟΥ
 ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ
 ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΣ
 ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ
 ΕΙΤΕΑΙΟΣ

The first three are evidently three generations of one family, the fourth name may or may not be connected. What is more curious, is the extraordinary variance in the skill with which the letters are cut. The first is quite well-done, the second very badly; the third is a considerable improvement on the second, though not nearly as well done as the first; the fourth is worse than the third, but not so bad as the second.

A little further on is another farewell scene inscribed

ΔΕΞΙΚΛΕΙΑΦΙΝΩΝΟΣΕΙΞΟΙΟΥ
 ΑΡΧΙΑΣΓΥΒΙΟΥΓΟΤΑΜΙΟΣ

Behind to the right is another good-bye over the tomb of a child, the little Eucoline. There are three figures besides the child, a man and two women. The inscription runs

ΓΡΩΤΟΝΟΗΝΙΚΟΣΤΑΤΗΥΚΟΛΙΝΗ.

There is a special charm about the stelæ found here under the sky in the place where love first planted them, which

makes this enclosure by the Piræus Road for me almost the best loved corner of Athens. But anyone who feels the pathetic attraction of these Athenian memorials to loved ones taken away, will find a far greater number in the National Museum, including the most artistic and the best preserved. Many have written of these most touching of all tokens of human affection for the dead—of their tenderness, their grace, their subtle pathos. I know not how it may be with others, but for me these simple and natural scenes, these quiet farewells, have a more moving power than cemeteries and their trappings of woe. None of them can be called representations of sorrow; or, if at all, very rarely: there is no direct appeal to the fount of tears, scarcely even a suggestion of grief and loss; and yet, in their very restraint and reticence, in their very silence, their resolute setting aside of cruel fact, their defiance of the great Destroyer, there is a more poignant force, an appeal, which seems to bring close home the pathos of human life and love, the anguish of parting. Many of them are scenes of parting (though even this has been questioned): no tears, no wringing of hands, nothing but the quiet, tender clasping of hands, a simple good-bye, calmly and tranquilly spoken, though it is good-bye for ever. They are so purely and utterly human, the natural man at his best and most refined. For, of course, if they say nothing of the terrors of death, neither have they anything to say of the hope of meeting again. They accept the fact of separation simply, courageously, with resignation. And yet we find in them just that spirit of calm courage and acquiescence which is so strangely lacking in the Christian attitude. They realise in practice, what the Christian theory enjoins, but the Christian practice too often ignores, that death is nothing to lament over. They refuse, as it were, to admit the sadness of death. If this is true of the scenes of parting, still more obviously is it true of other favourite types of representation, a warrior in his armour, a domestic scene, a youth playing with a dog, a child with a bird: all these speak of the untroubled current of every-day life, and only in the subtlest way suggest its sudden interruption and close. Nearly all are beautiful, some exquisitely so.

ART. VI.—REIS AND RYOT IN UPPER INDIA,

IN his speech at the grand durbar held at Lucknow in December last, Lord Curzon paid a tribute to Sir Antony MacDonnell's administration, and, in particular, to his legislative abilities. Without saying that the compliment was undeserved, it may be worth while, now that the excitement of the Viceregal visit is over, to enquire how far the amenities to which it gave rise are justified from the standpoint of provincial exigency. In other words, the question I propose to ask is, to what extent do the legislative principles which Lord Curzon had in mind indicate a wholesome sense of responsibility in the administration concerned? If it is a peculiarity of the legislator to also pose as a philanthropist, there is not the least doubt that Sir Antony MacDonnell can fill the rôle as well as anyone: but, though the public have too much confidence in his resources to imagine for a moment that such is his intention, it would still be hard to explain how two such measures as the Oudh Settled Estates Bill and the North-Western Provinces Rent Act Amendment Bill came to find a place in the legislative programme. As regards the former, it would be outside my present purpose to enquire how the taluqdars first came into existence, or what their precise rights and privileges were in the pre-mutiny days; but it is safe to assume that it was only after the British occupation of Oudh that they were recognised as a community. When the change of *régime* was effected, all existing taluqdari institutions, so far as they could be ascertained, were confirmed by special pledge of the Government of India, and amongst them was the absolute right of the taluqdars to deal with their estates as they pleased; or, as the *sunnuks* put it, every taluqdar had "a permanent, hereditary and transferable proprietary right in his estate, with full power to sell, mortgage, give or bequeath it as he pleases."

Against this concession Sir Charles Wingfield, then Chief protested; but Lord Canning, holding that, if an aristocracy Commissioner of Oudh, had to be created at all it should be in estate and not in name only, overruled the objection, and so the taluqdars were launched into their new sphere of life with the Viceregal blessing and an admonition to make good use of their opportunities.

But the best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft agley, as the Scotch poet put it: and if ever there was a provoking commentary on the vanity of human expectations, it is to be found in the admittedly bad use that the taluqdars have made

of their princely resources. For years past their growing indebtedness has been a source of anxiety to the provincial officials, and many have been the efforts to redeem them from the extinction with which, every now and again, they are threatened, first by the Oudh Taluqdars' Relief Act of 1870, and now by a measure which, it is hoped, will embody the saving grace in a form to allow of future generations being benefited even more than the present. The intention of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, now before the provincial Legislative Council, is to curtail the power of the taluqdars to alienate their estates, and it may be aptly described as a grand effort on the part of Sir Antony MacDonnell to find a solution for a contingency which has hitherto defied the best intelligence of Anglo-Indian legislators. That its conception is charitable, I presume no one who is at all acquainted with its provisions, will deny. The work of redemption has this gratifying feature, too, that it disarms criticism, and places the critic in the position of one who is forced to admire in spite of himself. No matter how frail the design, if it has the least show of saving, it forthwith appeals to our sympathy and extracts from us a response which, had it been anything else, would be impossible in an age imbued with the truth of Carlyle's dictum that the barrenest of mortals is the sentimentalist.

When I say that this is precisely how one feels in regard to the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, I have pretty well exhausted all that can be said in its favour. Intrinsically it has little to recommend it, and the more it is examined the more apparent it becomes that it is at best a fanciful solution of the trouble in hand. To a certain extent it will preserve the taluqdars; but will it make them any the happier, or worthier of preservation, if there be the same incubus of debt and the same depressing influences as exist now? Even if we restrain a man from disposing of his mess of pottage, it is quite certain that no legislation will prevent him from incurring fresh debts or transmitting the tendency to his son, or *per se* create an assurance that every occupant of a *gaddi* in Oudh will not be as hopelessly bankrupt as his predecessors were before him. The official contention is that merely as a political safeguard, it is necessary to preserve the taluqdars—by reducing them to the condition of life tenants. The contingency had not, indeed, been overlooked by Lord Canning, being specifically referred to in the Government of India despatch to Sir Charles Wingfield; but it was condemned as derogatory to the state of aristocracy, if not actively injurious to its best interests. I am inclined to think that the Viceregal decision was not altogether impolitic, in view of the impossibility, then as now manifest, of having one law to regulate so many diverse

interests, as regards race and religion, as the taluqdars embody. The very fact that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill is permissive shows that Sir Antony MacDonnell is by so means certain of his ground, while the additional circumstance that no taluqdar is bound to conform to its provisions will go far to rehabilitate Lord Canning's judgment in the estimation of practical men. To them it will be apparent that just as the nominal preservation of estates is no gain to the country at large, so no amount of gubernatorial coddling will secure for the aristocracy of Oudh what can only accrue from an unreserved acceptance of the maxim that righteousness alone exalteth a nation. In the absence of this preliminary requisite to prosperity there will be nothing to prevent the life estates contemplated in the Bill from being misused by each holder as he comes into possession, or obviate the decree-holder being in full enjoyment of the baronial income for a series of years which can be indefinitely prolonged by a father and son acting in conjunction.

At a recent meeting of the Legislative Council Sir Antony MacDonnell, somewhat curiously, anticipated the adverse criticism which future historians of India would pass on a large portion of our land legislation. If this means that his own will be favoured as an exception, the complacency will, I fear, not be shared by others, in the face of the subsequent admission that much of our agrarian policy "has been based upon ideas which were peculiarly English and which found no analogy in the institutions or in the traditions of this country." Are we to assume from this that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill is a peculiarly native inception? What is one to make of this astounding pronouncement, or of the still more astounding inference that the importation into India of ideas which had their origin in feudal England has had a far-reaching evil effect, except that they constitute so much legislative prancing and are not meant to be taken seriously? Moreover, how is one to account for a policy which on the face of it bears the impress of fatuity. If the native landowner is to survive as a unit of the higher social system of the country, it can only be by the exercise of his own powers and not through any unmerited assistance from the Government. What La Bruyère said is true for all time, that, if it is a happiness to be nobly descended, it is not less so to have so much merit that nobody enquires whether we are so or not. This is precisely what Sir Antony MacDonnell ignores when he steps forward as the saviour of the taluqdars, not because, it is claimed, they are worthy men, but because they are nobly born. It seems to me we are overdoing this birth business in India. When the Statutory Civil Service was inaugurated it was the

openly avowed purpose of the Government of India to utilize it as an opening for the sons of men with territorial influence. It was urged that something ought to be done for them, just to keep them out of mischief as it were, and the result was that a large number of budding rajahs were thrust into the public service with little or no regard for educational or other qualifications. That the statutory civilian failed to excite admiration, and was properly condemned, was only natural, and it is not surprising that he is being got rid of altogether, though some representatives, like Rajah Chitpal Singh who was recently dismissed for gross incompetency, are still alive to mark the blind policy of the past.

In the case of the taluqdars old families may be worth preserving from a sentimental point of view, but in the absence of permanent affluence they must degenerate into curiosities, in spite of extraneous aid. Legislate as and when we may, the fact cannot be got over that in their hands alone lies the work of redemption.

As I have said before the mere protection of land from being sold, either as a voluntary act or in execution of legal decrees, cannot obviate the real trouble, so long as individual life estates may be vitiated, and there is no assurance that the coming generation of taluqdars will be morally impervious to debt: all that it will do is to hide the character of the trouble by the creation of a hope, which in all probability will prove false, that the future will be an improvement on the past. For my part I see no reason to object to the transfer of estates to new men, provided full value is obtained on the transaction. At present what every indebted landowner who is pushed into a corner may justly complain of is the cruel way in which the law operates by depriving him of the right to object to a sale on the ground of insufficient consideration. No matter how valuable a property may be, if there be no defect in the sale procedure it must stand, and in places where sales are badly attended, and there is scarcity of buyers, it often happens that the unfortunate owner gets little or nothing for his patrimony. I know of a case in which some valuable stock of a taluqdar was sold under judicial orders and bought by a speculative lawyer for a thousand rupees, the same stock being almost immediately afterwards re-sold to the original owner for six thousand rupees—deferred payment, of course. It is a law which allows atrocities like this to be perpetrated that needs amending, and it only shows how little our legislators know what they are doing when they ignore real defects in the administration in favour of supposed ones. This is a somewhat serious charge to make: yet it is one which, I am convinced, will bear investigation.

That there is nothing politically or socially injudicious in taluqdari properties being sold, provided always full value is obtained for them, is very conclusively established I think in the last Lucknow Settlement Report, which states that in cases where sales have taken place the new proprietors invariably make better landlords than the old. While this is only natural, it also indicates the wide scope of the benefit which the transferred relationship affords to the country at large. Far be it from me to unduly depreciate the Oudh taluqdars, some of whom are excellent individuals in their way, generous and noble and keenly alive to the responsibilities of their position. But it is no part of legislation to concern itself in essence with the social status of the people whom it affects. Both Buckle and Lecky have told us that expediency alone should be the aim of the legislator. Where is the expediency, however, of class legislation of which the only apparent object is to preserve old families (many of whom, by the way, are not so old after all) regardless of the consideration whether they are worth preserving or not? If the *nouveaux riches* subserve the material ends of the nation, it is surely imprudent to stem a tide which is admittedly flowing in their favour.

Probably the Indian official has other views, and I am aware that the prospect of a discarded aristocracy giving trouble is a perpetual nightmare to him. It is pointed out that the taluqdars are the natural leaders of the people, and on that very account are entitled to generous manipulation. I am willing to allow that many old families are looked up to in Oudh, as elsewhere, but that they have any irrevocable hold on the popular mind is an exaggeration which no one who knows anything of Indian agricultural life will entertain. There is, I believe, a rural saying, *bhare jahan jaigi katri jaigi*, which leaves no doubt that Hodge in India is perfectly alive to his own special interests; so it is idle to argue that it is only by humouring the classes that we can hold the masses.

This is precisely what the conception of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill conveys. If it has been found that the transfer of taluqdari properties to new men is attended with good results in the shape of better land-lords, it is obviously not to the advantage of the cultivating population, or the country in general, to have the old order perpetuated on the score of sentiment alone. Personally I have no great regard for the new man, who is generally a vakil redolent of wealth gotten through a complex, and in some respects unsuitable, system of litigation, but the fact that he has both money and brains cannot be ignored in an unbiased consideration of the issues at stake. There is this advantage, too, that in the case of the self-made individual there is no false dignity or reserve:

being new, he is anxious to please a tenantry on whose good will he is clever enough to see depends the value of his acquisition. Above all he has no whims to gratify. Only the other day the death occurred of a taluqdar who is credited with having spent three thousand rupees on a marriage between a mouse and a doll. When people are thus bent on vitiating wealth, they accentuate the need for a strict enforcement of merit.

The question arises, will the taluqdars recognise the obligation? I doubt it. Of course the miraculous may happen in the future as it has happened in the past; but taking into account the slow rate of moral progress in India, and the insuperable obstacles to reform which custom and prejudice present, there is not much hope that the coming generation of Oudh land-owners will be very different from the present or their exigencies any the less embarrassing.

The most suggestive commentary on the subject was afforded by a native member of the Legislative Council, one of the new order of self-made men, who attributed the sale of old estates to avoidable extravagance and incompetence on the part of the taluqdars in the first place, and unavoidable inflictions in the second. No legislation will obviate the former, and, as to the latter, clearly the best thing to do is to eradicate them as far as circumstances will permit. In either case what has the Oudh Settled Estates Bill to offer by way of relief? Unless social exigencies materially alter in the future, we may take it that the same necessity for spending money will exist. The grand nautch, the *burra jalsa*, the indispensable retinue of servants, the magnified zenana, the permanent establishment of dancing girls, the more legitimate, but none the less ruinous, expenditure necessary for the marriage of sons and daughters, the elephants and horses and carriages, and last, but not least, the pastime dear to the native aristocrat, of fighting his neighbour in court, if for nothing else, at least, to show who has the longest purse—all these are features which will mark the life of the future taluqdar. precisely, as they do that of the present; nor can it be hoped that Nature will change, or that the monsoon of the twentieth century will be less erratic than it is to-day, or famine be a visitation of the past: so that, look at it as we may, distress must exist so long as the causes contributing to it are not removed. I do not see what good is to be derived from a condition of life which legislation invests with the mask of affluence but which is really rotten within.

Moreover the fact that the Oudh Settled Estates Bill will prevent legitimate mortgage must tend to raise the rate of

interest, since no recognised banker will find it worth his while to do business on the slender security of a life tenancy, and so there will be a large addition to the class of usurers who for exorbitant profits will lend money on them. This alone is sufficient to condemn the measure. For years past it has been the expressed object of the Government to pulverise the mahajan: yet here we have a measure which will give that *bête noir* of Indian agricultural life new opportunities for the exercise of his villainy. It would be hard to say how such an issue, fraught as it is with highly pernicious effects, was overlooked in the legislative purview, and I can only ascribe it to an over-sanguine temperament failing to recognise that necessity knows no restraint. Probably Sir Antony MacDonnell thinks that being deprived of the power to mortgage or sell their properties, the taluqdars will promptly acquiesce in the altered condition and live without borrowing. If they do, the gubernatorial claim to be accounted among the prophets will be past all dispute: if they do not, no one who knows anything of high life in India, with its love of pomp and splendour, will be very much surprised. Personally I shall be glad to acknowledge an error, but under present circumstances I cannot help regarding the Oudh Settled Estates Bill as being based upon a perverted estimate of human nature. What a source of comment for the future historian of India in the picture, thus presented, of trying to do too much! Yet this is precisely what our legislative efforts often amount to. One year the country will ring with anathemas against the usurious mahajan, and judicial officers will be impressed with the urgency of crushing him: the next will see a complete reversal of the policy, or such a modification of it as will practically defeat its purpose.

I do not know that, in dealing with the taluqdari system, or, indeed, any Indian question, much good can be derived by unreserved reliance on the inspiration of so egotistical a writer and administrator as Sir John Strachey, whose opinion on the subject the official apologists quote with much gusto and approval, since to talk of the pre-mutiny taluqdars holding their estates "subject to the conditions of the Hindu or Mahomedan or Local Law" is to travesty history by investing the Nawabi princes with a judicial power of control they did not possess.

No doubt, succession was governed in simple cases by existing custom, but there was nothing to prevent a strong taluqdar from shaping the family history as he thought fit. The principle of primogeniture was, indeed, so restricted, that Sir Charles Wingfield had to resort to exaggeration in pleading for the acceptance of his views by the Viceroy. Moreover, even if one were to admit that the Indian con-

ception of the fitness of things is opposed to the policy inaugurated by Lord Canning, in what way will the Oudh Settled Estates Bill improve the situation? If it is to obviate sub-division, as part of the larger policy of integration, the end will be no more acceptable now to the Hindu mind than formerly. Here, too, the restrictions imposed on the operative area of the measure seem to show that the gubernatorial intellect has quite grasped the essence of Lord Canning's objection that "we can *only recognise* the advantage of the inheritance of landed estates by primogeniture, or, at least, the transmission of them to one heir." To do more is clearly impossible. It is not enough to say that the principles in question have been accepted by the taluqdars, because what is there they will not accept when the official oracle once makes it clear to them that acceptance is the most politic course to pursue? Sir Charles Wingfield's procedure gave rise to precisely the same experience, when, whatever may have been their own predilections in the matter, the taluqdars succumbed to his well-known and deeply-felt wishes. In this case they have not much to lose personally. Such borrowing as they have to do has already been done, and it is easy now to tell the coming generation that, if they have any wild oats to sow, the sowing had better be indefinitely postponed. All this would undoubtedly be very excellent, if, as La Roche said, we could both give the advice and the wisdom to profit by it. Unfortunately we cannot.

Be that as it may, how are all the scores of divergent interests embodied in a community of landowners, widely separated in point of descent and religion, to be consistently merged into one harmonious entity without disturbing the excellent ideal whereby the native is to be governed, not as the Englishman thinks he should be, but as he himself would have it. I can quite understand Sir Antony MacDonnell's desire to do something heroic for the unborn generations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, but the difficulties attending the effort are so great that it becomes a question whether it would not be as well to leave the future to deal with its own phase of the contingency as it comes. At present what we have to consider is that seventy-five per cent. of the Oudh taluqdars are more or less hopelessly indebted, and that all existing mortgages must stand. Where then is the precise utility of the Oudh Settled Estates Bill as a practical measure? What would be the judgment passed on a man who consoled himself with the reflection of a far distant millennium is precisely applicable to Sir Antony MacDonnell, with this difference, that while the former may be credited with a generous desire to benefit great and small alike, the latter restricts his bounty to the

great alone. In all other parts of India remedial legislation affects every class of the landholding community, but in Oudh it is only the taluqdars who are thought of. The scores of interests outside that body, the lives and fortunes of hundreds of small landowners and village proprietors—these are of no moment beside an aristocracy over which there is now only a dim halo of vitiated wealth.

Passing on now to the North-Western Provinces Rent Act Amendment Bill, I may say that in deciding to ameliorate the condition of the provincial cultivator Sir Antony MacDonnell has been mainly influenced by judicial returns of ejectment suits, which are stated to have increased from 52,317 in 1896-97 to 69,510 in 1897-98. In their last Report on the Land Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the Board of Revenue urged that the circumstance was inimical to the best interests of the country, and an intimation of the impending legislation was thereupon given by the Lieutenant-Governor in a Resolution dated 12th May 1899, declaring "that the existing state of things, whereby ejectment is used as a means to defeat the operations of the law permitting the gradual accrual of occupancy rights, is indefensible." Since then the matter has been under active consideration, and in October last it was specifically referred to in a meeting of the provincial Legislative Council as the first of a series of remedial enactments which the Government had in view.

It is necessary to state here that the proposed alteration affects only the Rent Act of the North-Western Provinces, and not that of Oudh, where the agricultural population already enjoy a sufficient measure of protection to make them independent of the vagaries of their landlords. Still the principles underlying the change are being keenly criticised in both areas, and it is not to be wondered at if their united intelligence should be somewhat exercised over it.

In this matter, as in the other, I fear the legislative impulse is equally faulty. No doubt a certain amount of fixity of tenure is necessary for the effective purposes of agricultural life, and in this sense Sir Antony MacDonnell is justified in deprecating the frequency with which ejectment suits are instituted. On the other hand, it may be urged on behalf of the landholding community that the essential object of going to court is not to dispossess the ryot, but merely to obviate the accrual to him of rights which it was never intended he should have, and which he is in no way keen to acquire so long as he is otherwise well treated and there is no attempt at rackrenting. It is only fair to state that in the majority of instances the ejected tenants are reinstated in their holdings,

but as regards the other condition, it is less easy to form a correct judgment.

How far rackrenting exists in India is a question which can never be satisfactorily answered, and while it would be safe to say that all landlords have a natural tendency to get the most they can, they may, at least, be credited with sufficient discrimination to realise that in catching at the shadow they may lose the substance. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Indian tenant will go on paying any rent that is demanded of him—though he has never heard of Ricardo, he understands the Ricardian theory well enough to know precisely what proportion of the produce of land should go to him and what to the landlord. Among tenants-at-will, particularly in Upper India, any attempt to exact too much is almost certain to lead to land being relinquished, a contingency which no landlord would deliberately create unless he was utterly callous to his own interests. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Board of Revenue adduce no specific instances of rackrenting: it is only an assumption, which, in the absence of proof to the contrary, must be taken as a legitimate manifestation of the law of demand and supply.

So great, moreover, is the indigenous subservience to *kismet*, that, if the agricultural population were canvassed on the point, the majority would probably be in favour of accepting the inevitable, and, indeed, there has always been between landlord and tenant in India a tacit understanding, which has been on the whole well maintained, that so long as the customary rent is paid there shall be continuity of tenure. There is a curious passage in the Report referred to which states that during the famine years 1896-98 "no undue advantage was taken by the zemindars, as a body, of the distress of the tenants to destroy occupancy rights." Here, it will be observed, there is a divergence of opinion which the Board of Revenue might very well have explained. If there is no tendency on the part of the provincial landowners to act harshly when it would be easy to do so, it is not clear why, in the case of tenants-at-will, there should be such an ebullition of antagonism as is implied by the Government. Some revenue officials are inclined to ascribe the restraint to the fear that undue pressure might lead to wholesale relinquishments and consequent loss of rents. Apart from the colour this gives to my contention that in the matter of rent there are two to make a bargain, the implication is a trifle ungracious, and the provincial landowners may be excused for feeling somewhat aggrieved at what now practically amounts to an accusation of dishonesty. If Sir Antony MacDonnell, out of sympathy for the hard lot of the cultivator, is determined that he shall have the full benefit of

an official championship, by all means let us have such legislation as the contingency demands; but to blow hot and cold in the same breath, to tell the zemindar to-day that he is a model of forbearance and to-morrow that he is a knave and fool combined, is about as creditable as the legal device, when one's case is bad, of abusing the other side. Curiously enough no attempt has been made by the Government to justify its predilection, except on the broad assumption that it is good for the country, and beyond the gratuitous surmises of the Board of Revenue there is nothing to reconcile the proposed measure to our sober judgment.

As to the official argument that the law contemplates the gradual accrual of occupancy rights to tenants-at-will, it may reasonably be objected that it does nothing of the kind. The very fact that ejection was provided for would ordinarily go to show that the accrual of occupancy rights was only contemplated as a matter of neglect on the part of landlords, whom we cannot now blame for seeking to enforce what, at any rate outwardly, has been accorded to them. If the fault lies anywhere, it is in the Act itself and with those who framed it. The relations between landlord and tenant are already so strained in India that even then it may be doubted whether Sir Antony MacDonnell is acting wisely in promoting a measure of which the immediate effect will be to make matters worse.

There is a good deal in the last Administration Report of the Board of Revenue for Bengal about the transition of agricultural life in that province from the Oriental or patriarchal stage to that of strict legal contract. While, however, the change is pronounced to be unsatisfactory, Sir John Woodburn's belief in the success of the final issue shows, at least, that in the official world of Bengal there is no unwholesome hankering after the inspiration of the East. In Upper India the conditions are precisely the same, but the effect varies in that, though all our rent legislation, including that under criticism, continues to be conceived on English principles, the outward expression of opinion is seemingly against it. No one will imagine for a moment that Sir Antony MacDonnell's advocacy emanates from other than a purely English desire to give everything, no matter what, a basis in law. There is no suggestion to preserve the patriarchal traditions which are dear to every native of India, nor any attempt to sympathise with the spirit of the past: indeed, so great is the gubernatorial repugnance to indigenous sentiment in this case that, in replying to a deputation of landowners last December, Sir Antony MacDonnell urged that it was quite impossible for him to withdraw from a position which was in keeping with the agrarian policy of the Government ever since the Mutiny.

And yet this identical policy was what he presumably condemned only three months previously in connection with the Oudh Settled Estates Bill.

In all legislation affecting the relationship between landlord and tenant in India it should be the endeavour of the Government to combine philanthropy with justice. There can be no question of the theoretical value of granting to the cultivating community rights which, we are all agreed, are essential for purposes of efficiency. At the same time it is well to differentiate between expediency and sentiment. Are we sure the proposed legislation will achieve the desired end? In answering the question, an issue arises, whether the deprivation of land is what the provincial ryot is suffering from, or his own thriftlessness, and, of course, natural afflictions such as famines and the like. If the latter, the essential purpose of the Government falls to the ground, and legislation becomes, as it were, a rope of sand which, as Emerson says, will perish in the twisting. It is well, perhaps, to recognise from the outset that the irresponsible character of the Indian tenant is as inimical to agricultural progress as any unsympathetic attitude on the part of his landlord. Those who know him best, know also how ready he is to impoverish himself by undertaking litigation on the smallest pretext. Whether the quarrel be with his landlord or a neighbour, the fight will often be protracted till the last bullock has been sold, or the village mahajan absolutely declines to advance another rupee, and by the time the final appeal has been heard he is ruined past all recovery. For such a man legislation has obviously nothing to provide.

It is a common experience, too, in Upper India to find an agriculturist who has got together a little money making a series of expensive pilgrimages to Pragraj or Mathuraji. Then there is the inevitable *shukrana* to the thanadar for the expiation of real or imaginary offences, and occasional entertainments to one's caste fellows, all which put together would ruin most men I fancy.

A critical examination of the Bill creates the fear that the proposed remedy may fall short of a completely effective purpose by its failure to recognise the true causes of agricultural backwardness. As has been said before in connection with the Oudh Settled Estates Bill, the essence of the evil lies less in the frequency of ejectments than in the condition of apathy in which the agriculturist is plunged. If persuasion to improve the old methods of cultivation, to provide against a rainy day from the proceeds of bumper harvests, to limit expenditure on marriages and other social ceremonies, and, above all, to avoid litigation, are unheeded, it

is inconceivable that the mere fact of being provided with a five or seven-year tenure will avail in a contingency which entails an unrestricted recognition of the principles of self-help. That the condition is often wholly neglected, or only partly realized, is clear from the last Stamp Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, which testifies, from the abnormal sale of document stamps, to the growing distress of the Oudh tenantry, notwithstanding the provision for fixity of tenure existing there: and the fact that no satisfactory explanation of the circumstance is afforded may not unreasonably be applied by the opponents of the measure to enquire what need there is for bringing the Rent Act of the North-Western Provinces into line with what has admittedly failed to ensure prosperity. That all landlords are not inimical to the principles of the Bill is apparent from the statement of one who writes that long before the measure was made public he had given every tenant-at-will on his estate five-year leases in the hopes of thereby improving their material condition. "My experience," he says, "is not at all assuring. Lease or no lease, the moment a tenant finds he owes a couple of years' rent, he is off somewhere else. The good tenants stay, but they do not care for leases, knowing very well that it is not to the advantage of the landlord to quarrel with them." There is no reason to believe that this experience is limited, and certainly it is worth consideration.

The main point to be remembered in matters of this sort, where the welfare of an agricultural community is concerned, is the good old maxim that Heaven helps those who help themselves. So far, there is reason to fear, we have allowed too much of our attention to be engrossed by the rhetorical aspects of rent and revenue problems, quite forgetful that the tendency to make the least of one's resources, to over-populate, to rush into litigation oftener than is necessary, to spend fifty rupees on a *tamasha* which would be dear at ten, to play into the hands of the police, to convert the proceeds of bumper crops into ornaments which seldom fetch what they cost—are only a few of the factors to which agricultural demoralization in this country is due.

Probably, if the matter were carefully gone into, it would be found that a large number of ejectment suits are instituted for the real purpose of repressing the spirit of defiance which the provincial ryot has a knack of generating the moment he is well settled. There is much in the theory which accounts for the opposition offered to the Bill, and though it is obviously impossible to decide on the merits of a quarrel between master and man, it is only fair, while condemning oppression and rackrenting, to recognise that a tenant who makes a

persona ingrata of himself on every possible occasion, or who cannot bear to have his rent demanded when it becomes due, is not precisely an individual entitled to legislative protection.

I should be the last to suggest that our agricultural population should be deprived of the benefits which they now enjoy; but I am not exaggerating when I say that one effect of our rent legislation has been to engender in the minds of the landholding classes a distrust of official motives. The difficulties attending the realization of rent and of managing a large body of tenants, all of whom cannot be good, are so great, that I firmly believe most landlords would gladly surrender their positions were it not for the social advantages, which the possession of land affords. There is no reason to think that they are necessarily happy, or their troubles less deserving of official recognition than those of their tenantry. And yet, while the Government affords to the one the right to stick to his lands, what relief does it afford to the other who finds one fine morning that a tenant has run away with all his belongings and a couple of years' rent in the bargain? The relief of finding remedy in a court against a man whose whereabouts may be anywhere within a radius of fifty miles, is assuredly not very gratifying, but it is the landlord's only consolation. If he wants to eject a tenant, it must be through the court: if he wants to re-let his land, he must first obtain the written resignation of the present holder. The present holder, owing, perhaps, a year's rent, with the intention of owing another, refuses to execute the resignation, and so the whole machinery of the law has to be put into operation. After this is it at all surprising if the justice of the Government comes to be questioned?

One word more by way of postscript. Since the above paragraphs were written and sent to press more than three months ago, the Oudh Settled Estates Bill has been passed into law. I ought, perhaps, to alter parts of them to embody the improvements made by the Select Committee in the original draft of the measure, but I fear this is now impossible, and in any case the alterations would not materially affect my general contentions. I am glad, however, that an endeavour has been made to meet the objection in regard to mortgage and interest, though whether it will obviate usury. I am just as doubtful as before. The Rent Bill still awaits the sanction of the Government of India before it can be introduced here. In the meantime it may be worth while to draw attention to a circumstance on which much reliance was placed last year, namely, the increase in the number of ejectment suits filed against tenants-at-will. Had the official deductions been quite sound the feature should have been equally apparent this year,

ART. VII.—RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS.

I.

PERHAPS in no other country in the world is the religious enthusiasm of a people so great and all-absorbing as it is in India. The holy books of the Hindus inculcate charity especially as the surest means of salvation. The Brahmins favoured charitable gifts and extolled them beyond measure, and the legislature fostered them by every means in its power. It is therefore not a matter of surprise that we have in India an amount of charity, both religious and temporal, which is hardly approached in any other country.

I shall deal in this article and in another with the works of public charity and charitable endowments of the landholders of the province of Bengal. If India is rich in charities, Bengal is the province in it which possesses the largest number and amount of such charities.

It has become the fashion now-a-days to describe the landlord class as a body too much 'concentred in self' and entirely forgetful of the welfare of the people at large. Yet, it is a fact as clear as daylight, that, if any good has been done by any class in this country for the benefit of the public, it has been by the zemindar community. I shall show that the landlords of this country have spent in works of public charity and utility a far larger amount than has been spent elsewhere, and, in many instances, far beyond their circumstances. Yet the comparative poverty of the landholding classes of this country is too apparent to admit of serious contradiction. Let me compare some men of colossal fortune in England and in Bengal and see how their incomes stand to one another :—

	Name.	Capital.	Income.
		£	£
England.	Duke of Westminster ...	16,000,000	800,000
	Duke of Sutherland ...	6,000,000	300,000
	Duke of Northumberland ...	5,000,000	250,000
	Marquis of Bute ...	4,000,000	200,000
Bengal.	Maharajah of Durbhangah ...	3,000,000	150,000
	Maharajah of Cooch Behar ...	2,600,000	130,000
	Maharajah of Hutwa ...	1,800,000	90,000
	Maharajah of Burdwan ...	1,800,000	90,000
	Maharajah of Dumraon ...	1,000,000	50,000
	Late Maharani Sunomoyee ...	800,000	40,000

Thus the highest income of our Bengal landholders falls far short of the lowest of the millionaires of Great Britain. The richest landlord of Bengal is the Maharajah of Durbhangah.

It was during the administration of Sir Stuart Bayley that the estate was taken from the control and supervision of the Court of Wards. While congratulating his late ward—alas, no longer living—who had just come of age, the late Governor declared that the annual income of the Durbhangah Raj estate was then about seventeen lakhs of rupees. Yet, it is a fact that, after the incomes of the Maharajahs of Durbhangah and Cooch Behar, there is, excepting the Maharajah of Burdwan, the Hutwa Raja and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, hardly a landlord who owns half their income. The Burdwan Raj is, indeed, the richest landholder in this side of Bengal.

Before detailing the charitable works of individual zemindars, I will give a brief summary of the law of endowments prevailing in this country. The English law which forbids superstitious bequests has no application in India, and hence the practice of devising by will vast amounts of property for religious purposes has become common since the establishment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The question whether a Hindu can apply the whole of his property to religious objects is now settled, and there have been several instances in which such an extreme course has been held valid. The creation of perpetuities is fully allowable in such cases, and does not render the will invalid. Among Mohomedans only a third of the property can be so devised, unless the testator has no heir or near relatives. Such religious endowments, however, must not be colourable; but *bonâ fide*, and the income of the endowed property should be devoted entirely to the purpose of defraying the religious ceremonies and worship connected with the endowments. But where a will under the guise of a religious character really bestows the beneficial interest on the devisees, it will be void so far as perpetuities are concerned, and the property will be governed by the ordinary Hindu law, subject merely to a trust for the fulfilment of religious purposes. If, again, a property yielding a large profit is devised by will for religious endowment, but the nature of the worship and ceremonies connected therewith is such that only a small portion of the profits can be and is actually utilized for the purpose, then the devise with regard to the remainder of the profits to religious objects will be void, and the heirs-at-law at liberty to divide them at their pleasure. Where a property is absolutely dedicated in perpetuity to religious purposes, the trustee cannot encumber or dispose of it for his personal use; but he can do so for the benefit and preservation of the estate. Sometimes land or other property is held for the maintenance of a religious endowment, subject merely to a trust as to part of the income. Here the land passes under the ordinary law with the specific charge upon it.

What is said here of religious, will equally hold good with reference to charitable, endowments. No charitable bequest will fail on account of vagueness or uncertainty, as the Court has power to direct the trustee in that case to apply the bequest to any act of general charity of the nature contemplated by the will according to the well-known *Cypres* doctrine.

It will be impossible to enter into minute details of the various works of public charity and liberality which distinguish noble families like the Durbhangah or Cooch Behar Raj. I shall make references to them in general in their proper place, giving details as far as possible. In the meanwhile I shall say something in the beginning about the works of public charity and endowment maintained by the poorer class of the Zemindars of Bengal :—men who by dint of their own self-exertion and economy built up their own fortunes, and, investing their money in landed property, had but a single aim in their lives, that of doing good to humanity.

To begin with Bengal proper. I select first the district of Hooghly—a district which perhaps contains more educated and influential landholders than any other in this province.

In this district three zemindars absolutely bequeathed their estates for the benefit of the public. The name of the first is Mahomed Moshin,—a name which is hallowed and enshrined in the hearts of the people. That palatial building, the Hooghly Imambara, with its magnificent tower-clock and glittering minarets, visible over many a mile of land and water, owes its existence to the munificence and charity of this large-hearted Mussulman gentleman, who settled in the district and died in 1812. By a deed, dated the 9th June 1806, he founded that sacred trust which has shed such a lustre over the whole province. The Imambara, and its river revetment, which now form such a prominent object in the topography of Hooghly and its river scenery, cost no less than two lakhs of rupees. The tower-clock was procured from England, at a cost of Rs. 11,721, and I have heard my Mahomedan friends say that, excepting the clock of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London, it has no compeer in the world. That great educational institution—alas ! now in its days of decline and decadence—the Hooghly College, charmingly situated on the river, with its quiet halls of learning, its splendid library and beautiful botanical gardens, also derives its birth from his liberality and catholicity of mind. Into the Valhalla of history have passed the names of the old professors of this renowned College :—Dr. Thomas Wise, the first Civil Surgeon of Hooghly, Captain D. L. Richardson, the great Shakespeare reader and antiquarian, and Mr. Lobb, the veteran educationist and learned follower of Comte. It has produced some of the greatest men of the day, most notable

of whom are the late Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter, than whom few abler Judges ever graced the High Court Bench, and Mr. Justice Amir Ali, the brilliant writer of Mahomedan history. The Hooghly Imambara hospital has been rendered famous by the wonderful surgical operations of Dr. Esdaile, who used to practise mesmerism in those days to produce insensibility on patients before performing such operations. The zeal, energy, self-reliance and perseverance manifested by Dr. Esdaile in the cause of mesmerism, as an instrument for relieving human suffering, extorted the admiration of the *then* Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, who rewarded him with the post of Presidency Surgeon and honoured him by entertaining him at a dinner at Government House.

To that hospital was appointed the first Assistant Surgeon, Dr. Budden Chunder Chowdhury, for the purpose of rendering help to Dr. Esdaile, who is still alive, and who is the sole survivor of those ten distinguished students of human anatomy whose names are emblazoned in golden letters on a shield in the Calcutta Medical College Theatre in honour of their proficiency in surgery. That great adept in the healing art Dr. R. L. Dutta was for a considerable time the Civil Surgeon of this hospital. The *Motowali* of the Imambarah, who seems to have done the greatest amount of good and useful work was Syed Keramat Ali, of Jaunpore, the faithful friend and companion of Lieutenant Conolly's travels in Kabul. He was a great Arabic scholar and mathematician, and his attempt to trisect an angle is said to have been the most successful yet made. The present Imambarah was built during his direct supervision in 1861, and during his term of office the religious celebrations and festivals were conducted with such pomp and show as had not been witnessed before. • •

If there is anything worth seeing at Hooghly it is the Mohurram. Although much of its pristine magnificence are gone, still there is enough left to strike a stranger with awe and respect. It is said that even in these degenerate days a sum of Rs. 1,000 is spent daily during the eleven days of the Mohurram. Time was when Arabs and African Negroes used to come from their distant homes, to witness the Mohurram. Hardly has the new moon been seen when the Imambarah becomes a perfect Tower of Babel: the discordant music of the *tom-tom* and the cries of 'Allah' and 'Hossein' rend the air. Through the portals of the Imambarah a surging mass of humanity pass like ocean-waves. If anyone wishes to have a lasting impression of the Hooghly Mohurram, which he will never forget clear, let him come on the ninth and tenth day at night. The whole building is beautifully illuminated on both these days. In the courtyard a bubbling fountain of water falls

harmoniously and incessantly into a splendid cistern, at which one finds pious Moslems washing their hands and faces previous to entering for prayer. A flight of steps leads to a magnificent hall paved with the richest and purest marble and beautiful in its proportions and decorations. It really looks like a fairy dream when the marble hall becomes resplendent with the rainbow hues of colored glass lanterns and beautiful chandeliers fed with the purest oil and hanging by chains from the roof, which rises from six gothic columns on each side, carved with the rarest skill and painted with passages from the Koran, looking as bright in their fresh colouring as if they had been painted yesterday. The followers of the Prophet assemble here, listening sorrowfully to the recitals of the preacher as he relates the sad and tragic end of their departed heroes. A small audience of moon-faced beauties of the faithful is collected on the upper story behind a very rich curtain of Persian silk and one may see their dark blue eyes stealing through the folds of the gauze like a moon-beam through the fleecy cloud of a summer night. Towards the conclusion a general cry of sobs and lamentations rise and burst through the whole throng. I believe I never saw a finer action of tragic woe than these loud groans of the faithful. The torchlight procession on the tenth day is perhaps the most brilliant and enchanting sight of all. Candles are lighted up in amber glasses, numbering thousands and hundreds of thousands, which stretch for nearly half a mile on both sides of the road, and the procession moves literally in a blaze of triumph, the snow-white *tazia*, a veritable emblem of the miniature Taj at Agra with the silver crescent on its dome, shining in the midst.

The management of the Imambarah is in the hands of a trustee, under whom a *Motowali* is employed and paid a salary of Rs. 500 monthly. The ultimate control rests, of course, with the Government. By strict economy and good management the Moshin Trust Funds have rapidly increased, until they stand at the present day at a capitalised value of about twenty lakhs of rupees, and the income is about a lakh. The income from landed property amounts to Rs. 60,000 a year, of which the estate of Syudpore in Jessore alone contributes Rs. 45,000. Besides this, there is a fixed money endowment of Rs. 10,57,000, and a variable one of Rs. 90,400 in the hands of the Government to the credit of the Moshin Fund. The Imambarah has a *Hakimi* dispensary and a *Mosafirkhana*, in which Mussulman travellers lodge and board. A sum of Rs. 50,000 is yearly spent for the performance of the religious ceremonies and in feeding and maintaining the poor. The remaining fifty thousand rupees, which used formerly to be spent on the up-keep of the Hooghly College

is now distributed, much to the chagrin of the people of the Hooghly district, amongst the poorer classes of Mussulmans all over the province for their education. The Moshin fund entirely supports in addition to these the Doulatpore Entrance School and charitable dispensary at Sayudpore at a cost of about Rs. 200 monthly. The present *Motowali*, Syed Ashraf-uddin Ahmed, is the son of the late Nawab Amir Ali, and is discharging his duties efficiently.

The name of Behari Lall Mookherjee, of Boinchee, comes next in point of liberality and public spirit. Before his death he gave away by a will, which became the subject of contentious litigation in the High Court, a sum of one lakh and sixty-one thousand rupees for the establishment of a charitable dispensary and hospital in the village of Boinchee, as well as a free school teaching up to the Entrance Examination standard for the benefit of the local public. It gives the reversionary interest in all the landed properties of the testator to Government after the death of his widow, the proceeds of which are to be applied to similar acts of public usefulness. A sum of Rs. 2,500 is spent annually for the maintenance of the hospital and an equal amount for the school, both of which are doing yeomen's service to the cause of suffering humanity and the education of the poorer classes of the native community. The income from landed estates amounts to about Rs. 12,000 yearly, and it is hoped, that, in addition to the existing good works of permanent benefit to the public, others of a splendid nature will be created by Government as soon as it succeeds to its reversionary right. It is estimated that the entire estate of the late Bihari Lall Mookerjee yields a profit of Rs. 20,000 yearly, all of which goes into the hands of Government on the death of his widow. There is an able and experienced Assistant Surgeon, drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 100, as well as a compounder attached to the hospital; and the school is under a graduate of the Calcutta University on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. The construction of the hospital and school buildings has cost close upon thirty thousand rupees and has been carried out under the supervision of the Collector of the district. Both are nice and commodious buildings. The hospital has ten beds for in-door patients. Its popularity is so great that a larger accommodation and expenditure on the head of medicines have become absolutely necessary. Bihari Lall's brother, Babu Ram Lall Mookerjee, has made a handsome donation of Rs. 50,000 to Government for the abundant supply of good water to the people of the district during times of water scarcity.

The third zemindar of the Hooghly district, who has absolutely dedicated his properties to the public, is Nundo Lall Barman,

He was a resident of the town of Hooghly, and, dying without heirs, left his entire estate, valued at three lakhs of rupees, by a will for a religious endowment at Bally. During the festivals which take place yearly large numbers of Brahmins are fed and money and food distributed to the poor. In addition to this yearly outlay, the daily expenditure in the guest-house (*sadabroto*) is very large, as all comers, without distinction of caste, creed or colour, are sumptuously fed and housed there. The income of the estate endowed comes up to about ten thousand rupees yearly. The widow has lately constructed a beautiful bathing ghât, flanked by two temples, on the river side in Hooghly-Bally. The cost incurred in its construction is a little over Rs. 15,000. It has removed a long-felt want in the locality and done much good to the public.

Amongst the names of the landholders of this district, the late Joykissen Mookerjee stands foremost, not only in point of intelligence, ability and wealth, but also in public spirit and liberality. His father, Juggo Mohun Mookerjee, devoted properties worth about three lakhs of rupees towards a family religious endowment, the main object of which is the performance of religious ceremonies and feeding and giving alms to the poor. Joykissen spent no less than six lakhs of rupees in purely charitable works. A Hindu zemindar of the old school, he naturally expended vast sums of money in the digging of tanks and reservoirs and in the construction of embankments and roads. That splendid Library at Utterpara, which one admires from the river as a specimen of architectural beauty, cost him about sixty thousand rupees for its construction, and an equal amount was spent for the collection of books. The property which he endowed for its maintenance yields Rs. 2,100 yearly. It was he who, conjointly with his brother Rajkrishna, endowed the Utterpara School, which has been since raised through his exertions and munificence to the status of a second class college, with two taluks—Boinchee and Ramnagor—of the net value of Rs. 1,200 per annum. He also gave a sum of Rs. 19,000 into the hands of Government for the purpose of creating a trust fund for the Utterpara School scholarship. The same brothers subsequently made a similar endowment, yielding Rs. 1,800 per annum, for the foundation and support of the Utterpara Hospital, which has turned out so beneficial to the local public. In addition to these, he subscribed about a lakh and half towards the expenses of public societies and associations, which had mainly for their object the relief of the poor, and about a lakh of rupees for municipal purposes and for the construction of municipal roads and bridges.

The Calcutta University Library was founded by Jay Kissen Mookerjee in 1869 and endowed with a donation of

Rs. 5,000. It was through his help and encouragement that the "History of a Bengal Peasant Life" was written by the late Rev. Lall Vihari Day—the best book we have about the daily life of a Bengal ryot. A worthy son of a worthy father, Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, has followed closely in the footsteps of his noble father and has largely subscribed to many important public needs.

Of the old zemindars of the Hooghly district, Chaku Ram Singh of Bhastara deserves special mention. The town of Hooghly owes much to him for its prosperity. He gave Rs. 500 for the repair of the Hooghly town roads, Rs. 1,000 for the Satgaon, and Rs. 5,000 for the Bally suspension bridges, built the *Chandni* of Smyth's Ghât at a cost of Rs. 3,000, and subscribed largely towards the building of the Hooghly Branch School. But this is nothing in comparison with the vast sum of money he spent in building temples and endowing them with valuable lands. Several of them stand to this day on the banks of the holy river at Tribeni, where he entirely rebuilt that splendid masonry ghât which is frequented by thousands of pilgrims from distant parts of the province for the purpose of bathing in the sacred junction of three streams. He constructed several temples in Chandernagore and at his native village of Bhastara, which are still maintained by his son Babu Joggeshwar Singh, the eldest representative of the family at the present day, at a cost of about four thousand rupees yearly. During the great famine of 1866 the latter took a most prominent part in relieving the distressed. He opened almshouses throughout his extensive possessions and fed the poor with a princely liberality. For his great public spirit and generosity, Chaku Singh was recommended by the District Officers of the time to be "decorated" with the title of a Raja, but he died prematurely soon after and the wishes of the Government could not be carried out. He also spent a large amount of money in the construction of roads and tanks. The road from Magra to Bhastara was constructed by him, and is up to this time the only road through which the extensive grain trade of Magra is carried on by means of bullock carts. His son, Babu Joggeshwar Singh, maintains a school at Bhastara, and has been, in spite of the waning fortunes of the family, always prominent in acts of charity. The late Shyama Sundari Dasi, aunt of Joggeshwar Singh, has bequeathed by will properties yielding a yearly income of Rs. 700 for the maintenance of poor and helpless widows of Bhastara. His son Prava Chandra Singh has contributed a sum of Rs. 2,000 towards the Lady Dufferin Fund in commemoration of his late mother's memory.

The Seal family of Calcutta holds a high place amongst the zemindars of the Hooghly district. The founder of it was

Mutty Lall Seal, who rose from a mere hawker of empty bottles to one of the richest men of the province, acquiring vast zemindaris and Calcutta house properties in the course of a very few years. The Calcutta Medical College Hospital owes much to his bounty and munificence. A considerable portion of the lands on which the magnificent edifice stands belonged to Mutty Lall Seal, who made a free gift of them to Government, moved by that public spirit which always marked that great man's career in life. It has been estimated that the value of the land then given away would come to Rs. 40,000. The Government of Bengal recognised his liberality by naming a ward in his honor, 'The Mutty Lall Seal Ward,' for native male patients. He subsequently supplemented this gift by a handsome donation of more than half a lakh of rupees to the Calcutta Medical College Hospital. But the charities which have endeared his name to the public at large and made him illustrious were created by him later on and are contained in a deed of trust by which he made over a considerable portion of his property amounting to several lakhs of rupees for the good of the public. A net yearly income of Rs. 36,000 is derived from those properties. Out of this a sum of Rs. 12,000 yearly is spent in the upkeep of the Seal's Free College that fine two-storeyed building in Collootollah, which had come into existence long before the late Venerable Pundit Iswar Chundra Vidyasagor sowed the seeds of cheap education in this country, and has been since doing all along incalculable service to the cause of advancement of learning amongst the poorer members of the native community. The College stands high in the estimation of the public and competes successfully with Government and Missionary Colleges in the University examinations. Apart from this College, the trust fund distributes a sum of nearly Rs. 4,000 to a number of poor widows and orphans of Calcutta regularly every year. The scale of payment to each individual varies from Rs. 3 to 2 monthly. The rest of the income of the trust fund is spent in the maintenance of two *atithsalas*, or guest-houses, one at Baranagore and the other at Khidderpore, where all comers are sumptuously fed and entertained during all hours of the day. The Mutty Lall Seal splendid bathing ghât at Ramkrishnopore is a further example of his liberality. Well have some of his descendants followed his noble example in this respect. The Chuni Lall Seal out-door dispensary due south of the Medical College Hospital, is supported by an endowment of Rs. 60,000, which has been placed in the hands of Government. Kanye Lall Seal has made over a sum of Rs. 60,000 for the construction of a Charitable Hospital at Howrah. The Elliott Bridge, across Bharpara khal, near the Civil Engineering College of

Shibpore, was constructed at a cost of Rs. 30,000, given by Gopal Lall Seal, and has proved a veritable boon to the local public. In addition to these benefactions the Seal family has always come forward with liberal donations during times of distress.

The richest zemindar of the Serampore sub-division was the late Rajah Harrish Chandra, whose descendant, Rajah Poorno Chandra Roy, is still alive. He was the greatest benefactor to the establishment of Jagarnath at Mahesh, where people resort in so large numbers during the great Car festival, and created those valuable endowments for the support of its worship, which have rendered the name of Mahesh so renowned in this province. The Bathing festival is attended by a large concourse of pilgrims, the gay folk coming in green boats and budgerows from Calcutta and its neighbourhood and amusing themselves with boat-racing, singing and dancing. The temple of Nistarini, which is visible from the Sheoraphuly Railway Station, owes its most productive endowments to this zemindar family. The Baidyabati market, famous in Bengal as the emporium of all vegetable produce, was originally made over for the endowment of this temple. The income of this endowed property was over Rs. 12,000 yearly, but it has now been considerably diminished by litigation, as some portions of the property have been held by the Privy Council to have not been endowed for religious purposes and have hence changed hands very recently. To succour the distressed was the special delight of Harrish Chandra, and the temples he consecrated were the refuge of hundreds of poverty-stricken human beings who were freely maintained at the expense of the endowment. But alas! the wheel of fortune of this noble family has turned and much of its splendour and good work have vanished!

Among the female landholders of this district the name of the late Rani Rash Moni must always stand pre-eminent on account of her charity and religious works. The long line of temples at Dakhineswar on the banks of the river, with the beautiful ghât in the middle, the fine flights of steps leading down to the water's edge, still stands as a monument of her piety and devotion. Once a year this place becomes alive with the hum of thousands of pilgrims, the laughter of the merry and motley crowd, and the sombre and solemn recitals of religious poems and songs by red clothed priests. This is on the day of the anniversary of that holy monk Rajkrishna Param-hansa, who lived long amidst these sacred temples and drew scores of disciples from far and near, propagating the holy gospel of eternal truth to all. Some valuable properties have been endowed for the support of these temples, yielding an

income of about Rs. 30,000 yearly. Nor are the cravings of the poor left unsatiated. Numbers are fed daily there, and cloths and money are distributed freely amongst them during all occasions of festival. There is a temple close to Government House, Barrackpore, for which landed property with an income of ten thousand rupees yearly was endowed by that distinguished lady Rash Moni. The bathing ghât in Hooghly, Babugunj, is another memorial of her charitable disposition. Her husband Raj Chander Mar was also remarkable for public spirit. He did much good to the Hindu citizens of Calcutta by constructing a house for the moribund in Nimtola. Those splendid bathing ghâts which go by the names of Babu Ghât and Hatkhola Ghât owe their existence to his munificence and liberality and have proved very useful to the people of the metropolis.

The celebrated shrine of Tarkeshwar was originally created by one of the Rajas of Burdwan. It is superfluous to say that there is hardly any temple in Lower Bengal which is held in greater esteem and veneration by the people. An every-day sight but not the less touching, is the vast number of persons that congregate in front of the temple and, without taking a morsel of food or a drop of water, throw themselves completely on the mercy of the gods for the fruition of some desired object—either to be recovered of some incurable disease or for the fulfilment of some vow. The number of Mahomedans that go over there for this purpose is not small. The Mohunt is virtually the master of all the endowed properties. In addition to the daily feeding of the poor, the Mohunt maintains an English school and a Sanscrit *tal* in which boys are taught free of charge. The late Madhub Chunder Giri, who was himself a learned Sanscrit scholar, founded several scholarships for the education of Hindu boys in the Sanscrit College of Calcutta. He also endowed a Vedic Professorship in the Sanscrit College, and for this purpose handed over to Government a sum of Rs. 12,000 in Government Securities. There is a guest-house (*atithsala*) attached to the Tarkeshwar temple in which fifty Brahmins are maintained daily. There is also an almhouse where the needy and the poor are supplied with food. In the digging of tanks and reservoirs, and in the construction of roads and other works of public utility the Mohunt has always freely spent money. The late Mohunt Madhub Chandra Giri subscribed Rs. 1,000 towards the construction of the Hooghly Victoria Town Hall and an equal amount towards the Lady Pufferin Hospital. The days of festivity, however, which bring the largest number of pilgrims to Tarkeshwar, are the Shivoratri and the Chait Sakranti. The concourse of people assembled comes to hundreds of thousands on these occa-

sions, and the income derived from spontaneous offerings to the god of the temple is estimated authentically at the large figure of about a lakh of rupees yearly. During the famines of 1866 and 1874, the Mohunt did eminent public service by subscribing handsome donations to the famine fund, as well as by opening famine relief at Tarkeshwar and elsewhere.

It is a significant fact that even middle-class zemindars have left legacies to the poor. The Dashghora Biswas family, although not very wealthy, have maintained an English school, and their religious endowments and alms-house have done much benefit to the local public. The Haripal as well as the Makhalpore Roys have similar endowments and charities and a minor school.

The late Saroda Churan Roy of Chuckdighi made over a large amount of property for the public good by his will. Amongst his works of charity the most important is a charitable dispensary and hospital at Chuckdighi for which an endowment of Rs. 3,000 yearly has been made. It is under the able supervision of an Assistant Surgeon who is paid Rs. 100 monthly. In addition to the free distribution of medicines to the public, there are ten beds for in-door patients. A large sum of money was spent in the construction of the hospital building, which is spacious and nicely situated on the side of a public road, and its utility in a part of the district far away from the headquarters, where it was formerly impossible to get any sort of medical aid, has been remarkably proved by the large numbers of patients who have recourse to it morning and evening, every day. There is also maintained an English Entrance School called the Saroda Prosad Institution, having an endowment of equal value with that of the charitable dispensary and doing equally good service to the poor boys of the village of Chuckdighi. An *atithshala*, or guest-house, is supported, according to the directions in the will, out of the proceeds of the endowed estate, where fifty Brahmins and strangers are daily fed. In addition, the family idol has to be kept up with all the religious and ceremonial observances necessary for the purpose. This will was sought to be set aside by Chuckun Lall Roy, but after long and costly litigation the Privy Council held it to be good, reversing the judgment of the Calcutta High Court, which had declared Lolit Mohun's right, to be only a life-estate and held the reversionary right in favour of Chuckun Lall.

The Masya family of Bansberia has long been well known for its religious endowments and charity. Its wealth and importance have, I regret to say, much dwindled down of late, but still enough remains to indicate the sort of things it had done in good old days. The famous temple of the

goddess Hansaswari, with its dozen golden pinnacles and images of Siva, still attests the religious enthusiasm and devotion of this ancient zemindar family. There are other temples along with it. These are all said to have been built by Rani Sankari Dassi, a pious lady of great renown. The remains of a fortress and entrenchment are still visible round the place, where peaceful burghers used to seek protection from the ravages of the Mahrattas. The income of the estate originally set apart for this endowment was about a lakh of rupees. After protracted litigation in the High Court, a considerable portion of the endowment was held invalid. The family has all along been famous for liberality and public spirit. It maintains a public library and an English school at Bansberia and still performs the religious ceremonies with *éclat*.

The late Sagore Dutta of Chinsurah, brother of the well-known Madhob Dutta, has left a princely fortune for charity. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that he gave up nearly the whole of his wealth, consisting of Calcutta house property and zemindaries, and valued at no less a sum than six lakhs of rupees, for the benefit of the public. The grand charitable dispensary and hospital at Kamarhati near Belghoria, with its separate female ward, surrounded by a large and airy compound and constructed in the best style at an immense cost, stands as a monument of his liberal heart. This endowment is now in the hands of the Administrator-General of Bengal. The hospital has fifty beds for in-door patients and is under the charge of a first class Assistant Surgeon, drawing a pay of Rs. 200 monthly. A lady doctor with a monthly pay of Rs. 50 is placed over the female ward. The Civil Surgeon of Alipore supervises the whole establishment and inspects it monthly, for which he is paid handsomely. It would be difficult to exaggerate the boon conferred on a very large number of the public of the district by the establishment of this charitable institution, the like of which very few districts in Bengal can boast of. It is immensely popular with all classes of people, and I am credibly informed that even people from Serampore, Barrackpore and Naihati go there to avail themselves of medical help.

It would be invidious if I did not include here the excellent charities of the late Bhudeb Mookherjee, who served the Education Department with so great honour and credit. Born of very poor parents, Bhudeb Chandra rose in life by dint of sheer industry and ability, and it was no small self-sacrifice for a man of his position, burdened with family and children, to dedicate almost the entire savings of a long and laborious life to the benefit of the public. A lover of Sanscrit literature and himself no mean scholar, he executed a year-

before his death a deed of trust by which he endowed the sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees mainly for the encouragement of Sanscrit literature, distributing the annual income of this fund in the shape of yearly stipends among the indigenous *tois* of Bengal. In addition to this, there are maintained, out of the funds of the endowment, a Homœopathic and an Ayurvedic charitable dispensary as well as a free Sanscrit school (*chatuspathi*) at his house. The late Rup Lall Sen, of Chinsurah, has left a sum of one lakh of rupees in Government Securities partly for the maintenance of the poor and partly for the purpose of defraying the expenses of his family idol. Babu Lall Bihari Dutta, nephew of the late famous Jebun Pal, has opened an alms-house (*Annachatra*) at which any number of people are given food gratis and which is doing signal service in Chinsurah to the poorest members of the native community. This charity costs Lall Bihari Babu from rupees three to four hundred monthly. These three gentlemen are not zemindars in the literal sense of the word, but they have lands in Calcutta and the Mofussil for which Government revenue is payable and hence their names have been mentioned in this article.

The Tagore family of Calcutta, owning valuable landed properties throughout the province, is well known for public charity and munificence. Among its present distinguished members, Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore occupies a prominent place in native society. His ancestor, Prosonno Coomarr Tagore, conferred a lasting boon on the public by his princely bequest of no less a sum than seven lakhs of rupees for religious, charitable and educational purposes. For the endowment of the 'Tagore Law Professorship' he bequeathed the splendid sum of three lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University—an endowment which has produced such brilliant results in the arena of legal lore, adding to our knowledge of law year by year and materially assisting the Bench and the Bar alike in their arduous duties. The present emoluments of the Professor who fills the chair of the Tagore Law Endowment amount to Rs. 9,000 per annum. The following terms of the bequest are given from the will:—"My will is that the 'Tagore Law Professor' shall read or deliver at some place within the town of Calcutta one complete course of Law Lectures without charge to the students or other persons who may attend such lectures. Within six months after the delivery of each course of lectures, the lectures shall be printed, and not less than 500 copies thereof shall be distributed gratuitously. I desire that the expense of such printing and distribution may be defrayed out of the residue of the annual interest of the said fund. Whatever portion of the

residue may remain, after defraying the expenses, I desire that it may be devoted to the printing and publication of approved works on Law or Jurisprudence. It is my will that the said 'Tagore Law Professorship' shall, save as herein provided, be, as to the kind of law which is to be taught, and in all other matters and things, regulated by, and subject to, the control of the Senate of the said University." Thirty years have elapsed since the establishment of the endowment and twenty-seven Tagore Law professors have delivered their lectures, among whom may be cited the names of many eminent scholars and jurists. The names of Herbert Cowell, who thrice filled the exalted chair, and Sir Frederick Pollock are known to all students of law. Three of them have become Hon'ble Judges of High Courts of Justice. The Tagore Law Lectures series is now a household word in every lawyer's library. Few treatises on law can match with Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose's Law on Mortgage or Babu Upendra Nath Mitra's Law of Limitation? It is perhaps not known to many that Prosonno Coomar Tagore was himself one of the most learned and voluminous writers of the day, chiefly on questions of law and jurisprudence.

His love of the Sanscrit language and literature was great. In those days Mulajore was famous as the Cambridge of Bengal. It has been immortalized by the muse of Bharat Chandra—the eminent poet—, who lived at Mulajore latterly and took an active part in the teaching of Sanscrit to the pupils of the local school. It was Prosonno Coomar Tagore who, by a liberal donation of Rs. 35,000 gave this ancient and renowned Sanscrit school a local habitation and abode. The Mulajore temples bear an eloquent testimony to his religious devotion and for their support he set apart some very valuable properties. To the cause of the sick and suffering humanity he was equally alive. He bequeathed a sum of one lakh of rupees towards the establishment of the Mulajore Charitable Dispensary—an institution which has proved a veritable haven to the inhabitants of Mulajore. That was the time when the scourge of malarious fever first made its appearance in this part of Lower Bengal. To all his dependants and servants who served him faithfully during his life Prosonno Coomar left a splendid legacy of two lakhs and fifteen thousand rupees as a token of his unfailing love and sympathy for them. To the District Charitable Society and to the Native Hospital of Calcutta he made a gift of Rs. 10,000 each. It will thus be seen that the late Prosonno Coomar Tagore's charities were as extensive and diversified in their scope as they were discreetly discriminate in their character. It required not only a noble and magnanimous mind to achieve this result, but a very wise and intelligent one also.

Like him, his successors have also been eminently liberal. In the year 1877, on the accession of Her Majesty as Queen-Empress of India, Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore made a free gift of the land on which the Mayo Hospital was built, and supplemented the gift by presenting Government with Promissory notes to the value of Rs. 10,000 in aid of that much-valued institution. In recognition of this liberality, the Government has honoured the donor by naming one of the wards of the Mayo Hospital after him. He has also founded some valuable scholarships in the name of his father and uncle. He made over to the Calcutta University in the year 1883 the sum of Rs. 3,500 in 4 per cent. Government Promissory notes in order to found two medals, a gold and a silver one, to be open to competition amongst the students of the Tagore Law Lectures. He has also set apart funds for a provision of a gold armlet (keyur) to be presented to the best student in Sanscrit literature in the Calcutta University. He has awarded another medal to the best student in Physical science. But the best and most useful endowment he has made is that for the benefit of Hindu widows. It is valued at one lakh of rupees and is given to perpetuate the memory of his deceased mother, after whom it is named 'Maharaj. Mata Shib Sundari Debi's Hindu Widow's Fund.' An equally good endowment of Rs. 25,000 has been made by him for the noble object of the relief of helpless orphans.

Amongst the descendants of the late Prosonno Coomar Tagore, Raja Sourindra Mohun Tagore is second to none in point of liberality and public spirit. He is the first enlightened Native of India who studied the Sanscrit theory of music, on which he is presumably the best living authority. He founded the Bengal School of Music in August 1871 and the Bengal Academy of Music a few years afterwards, both of which institutions are conducted at his sole expense and under his authority. He maintains a charitable homœopathic dispensary in Calcutta, which is highly popular with the poorer classes of the native community. On the outbreak of the plague in the metropolis he came forward and liberally placed a large house for use as a Plague Hospital. For the equipment and maintenance of this hospital he has given a donation of Rs. 1,000. On the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the Republics of Africa, Raja Sourindra Mohun Tagore set the noble example of contributing towards the Mansion House War Fund and towards the equipment of Lumsden's Horse. Both he and his uncle, Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore, subscribed Rs. 5,000 each towards the expenses of raising Lumsden's Horse, and to their joint efforts was due in no small measure the success of the British Indian Association meeting for rais-

ing subscriptions towards the Transvaal War Fund. During times of distress the charity of the Tagore family has always been on a large scale. Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore made himself conspicuous by his liberality during the great famine of 1866. In Midnapore alone, where the scarcity was very great, he made a remission of rents to his tenantry to the amount of Rs. 40,000. For the present famine he has subscribed a sum of Rs. 10,000.

Maharajah Durga Charan Law, originally of Chinsurah—the prince of merchants and a very wealthy zemindar—is greatly famous for his public spirit and liberality. As a patron of learning his fame stands high throughout Bengal. He awards every year ten studentships to poor students reading in the English department of the Hooghly College, and a scholarship of Rs. 25 per mensem to a B.A. student of the College preparing for the degree of M.A. in any branch. Besides this he gives numerous scholarships to students of the Presidency College. For these he has endowed a sum of Rs. 50,000, which have been placed in the hands of the Director of Public Instruction of Bengal. Needless to say, these scholarships help hundreds of poor boys who have absolutely no means whatever not only to prosecute their studies but to carve out their career in after-life and distinguish themselves in various spheres. He has endowed, in addition to this, several lakhs of rupees for the purpose of aiding the helpless and poor of his caste and community. In Chinsurah alone he pays monthly a sum of several hundred rupees for the maintenance of poor widows and orphans and the destitute class of natives. In Cuttack at Killah Harishpore he has built temples and endowed them with landed property fetching an annual income of Rs. 2,500. To the proposed water-works of Hooghly he has subscribed Rs. 10,000. During the famines of 1866 he took a most active part in the relief of distress, and has always liberally contributed towards all benevolent objects of public charity. His brother Shama Charan Law has done a great good to the Calcutta public by the construction and maintenance of an Eye Infirmary. It is situated just north of the Medical College Hospital. An endowment with Rs. 60,000 has been created by the donor for its maintenance. Maharajah Durga Charan Law is greatly noted for his liberality towards his tenants. He has spent about sixty thousand rupees in the district of Khulna alone in cutting canals and digging tanks in his Morelgunge estate for the benefit of the poor ryots. For them he has established a charitable dispensary at Morelgunge, the up-keep of which costs him Rs. 1,800 annually. His charity towards medical relief has always been on a liberal scale. To the Mayo and Dufferin hospitals he has given a donation of Rs. 5,000 each.

He supports quite a host of dispensaries at an immense cost in the Mofussil, of which I may mention the Bagerhat, Khulna, Tumluk, Chuadanga, Uluberiah, Jessore and Comillah charitable dispensaries. To the District Charitable Society he has subscribed Rs. 14,000 and to the Suverna Barnik Charity Fund Rs. 10,000. For the relief of the sufferers in the present famine he has given Rs. 10,000. The Calcutta Zoo laboratory owes its existence to the munificence of his brother Joy Gobindo Law who has made a donation of Rs. 15,000 towards its establishment.

There are few great men in this country who can vie with the Burdwan Raj in its spirit of religious devotion, public beneficence and charity. The Burdwan Palace may well be described as the fortress of Hinduism. There is not a god in the Hindu mythology to whom a temple has not been dedicated by this pious raj family. The royal style and structure of these temples must strike everyone with awe and reverence. Every temple has its necessary paraphernalia of *Natmandir* (Ball-room) and *Nobotkhana* (Concert-room), its priesthood, its customary offerings and worship, and its daily distribution of food to poor Brahmins and beggars. Not only in Burdwan, but throughout the province wherever its extensive estates are situated, are seen such spectacular visions of rows of beautiful temples with their contingent machinery of Brahmin priests and worshippers, their offerings of food and flowers, their bands of singers and pipers. The group of 108 temples popularly known as the 'Shivalaya,' situated a couple of miles from Burdwan in a large open maidan and arranged in two concentric circles, is perhaps the most notable feature amongst the whole of these numerous temples. There is also a group of fine fanes of equal number in Culna, standing charmingly on the banks of the Bhagirathi, of which the temple of Lalji is the most famous and beautiful. It is elaborately carved and ornamented and is built on high ground, with a spacious courtyard, its high and big dome with its glittering pinnacle forming the most conspicuous object of the place and its neighbourhood. During the Shivaratri festival the Shivalaya temples are illuminated and make a splendid sight. In Culna the temple of Lalji and the adjoining temples become a blaze of light during the night of the *Jhulun Jatra*. The Burdwan Palace becomes a scene of delight during the Saraswati Puja festival. The entire surroundings and buildings of the Palace are illuminated, fire-works and bon-fires blaze in every street, singing and dancing go on everywhere, and pantomimes, jugglery and mimicry are the order of the day. In the Mahtab Munzil distinguished guests are entertained with music and rich repasts. In every temple as many men are fed as can

put in an appearance. The maintenance of these religious institutions is a most heavy item of expenditure. There is a splendid endowment fetching an annual income of over a lakh of rupees (Rs. 1,11,373) for meeting these expenses alone. It is said that none ever starves in Burdwan, as well as in Culna, owing to the extensive charities of the Raj, as in every temple Brahmins and poor people can get their fill daily.

Amongst the representatives of the Raj family the late Maharajah Mahatab Chand Bahadur was a person of great ability. He managed his great estates with such marked success that they became the most prosperous in Bengal. At the time of the Santhal rebellion in 1855, and again during the troubles of the mutiny, the Maharajah did all that he could to help the Government. He placed a large number of elephants and bullock-carts at the disposal of the Government and kept open communications in the neighbouring districts. During the famine of 1866 he rendered invaluable services to the country. With princely liberality he opened up *annachattras* (almshouses) throughout his estates and was the means of saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of starving creatures. Just on the outbreak of the famine, the Maharajah made the munificent offer to Government to provide for all the destitute paupers in Burdwan entirely at his own expense. It was at once accepted by Government, and from 6th September the work of gratuitous relief in the town was made over to the Maharajah. No less than 6,000 persons were daily fed by him. Cloths were distributed gratuitously to 2,183 persons in all and subsistence money was given to enable the paupers to return to their homes when the distress subsided. The total expenditure of the Maharajah was up to the 4th November in the town alone about Rs. 20,000. Besides the distribution at the special relief houses, some hundreds of poor people were daily fed at the Maharajah's temples at Culna. As a patron of Sanscrit learning, his name stands high. His court was daily thronged by learned pundits, on whom he showered riches and honour. He caused the translation of the sacred books of the nation and spent almost a fabulous amount of wealth in carrying out this worthy object. The translation and publication, both in the original and the vernacular, of the gems of Sanscrit literature, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and the codes of Manu, Mitakshara, Jagnavalka, etc., were carried out in a most admirable manner and in a short period of time. The gigantic nature of the task is sufficient—to use Oom Paul's well-known phraseology—to stagger humanity. With a magnanimity unexampled in these days, he caused copies of these invaluable works to be freely distributed throughout the educated world among oriental

pundits and western savants. It is very difficult to give exact facts and figures with reference to the costs incurred in these publications, but I have learnt on very good authority that not less than several lakhs of rupees were spent for the purpose.

The Raj has been most liberal towards the encouragement of learning. Its free schools and college and Sanscrit *tal* attest this most remarkably. The Burdwan Raj College was established in the year 1817 and has since been supplying the educational demands of the Burdwan public in a most satisfactory manner. It began its career as an Anglo-Vernacular School, imparting the rudiments of learning to the people in the early days of British rule, and, passing through various phases of utility, it at last developed into a Second Grade College in 1881. The educational establishment is divided into six branches: (1) The College Department, affiliated to the Calcutta University. (2) The School Department, a feeder of the above. (3) The Bengali School, teaching up to the Vernacular Scholarship Examination Standard. (4) The Persian Department, teaching those boys of the first two departments who take up Persian as their second language. (5) The Sanscrit School, imparting instruction in the orthodox native style to those whose religious scruples prevent them from availing themselves of the advantages of the English school. (6) Last, but not least, the Girl's School, the present provision in connection with which is adequate enough to meet the requirements of female education in Burdwan. The disbursements in the different departments aggregate annually about Rs. 21,000, all these being entirely met by the liberality of the Raj. What is the most prominent and praiseworthy feature of the whole machinery of educational administration is that public instruction in all its phases is imparted gratuitously to all, and several boys in consideration of their extreme indigence, besides being provided with free tuition, are maintained at the expense of the Raj. In addition to this it maintains a free Entrance School in Culna and hosts of other minor and vernacular schools throughout the zemindari. These minor educational establishments cost from seven to nine thousand rupees yearly. For the construction of the Raj College building it has spent considerably over a lakh of rupees. It maintains also a Public Library at Burdwan.

Its charitable dispensaries entail a yearly expenditure of no less than sixteen thousand rupees. The insanitary state of Burdwan and the much-dreaded fever which is named after the town have all along occupied the careful consideration of the medical authorities, and, prompted by a spirit of philanthropy, the Raj came forward with large subsidies of money to cope with the ravages of the disease by the establishment of an

excellent charitable dispensary and hospital in Burdwan. Besides maintaining a female ward in the hospital, the Raj has subscribed Rs. 25,000 to the Lady Dufferin's Zenana Hospital.

In addition to the alms-houses maintained out of religious endowments, the Raj maintains several others in Burdwan and elsewhere at a cost of Rs. 20,000 yearly. It subsidises various other charitable institutions all over the country at an annual expense of Rs. 8,262. For the preservation of cattle and for breeding purposes it spends yearly Rs. 8,430, and for the delectation of the public it has kept up a menagerie and *phulkhana* at an expenditure of over Rs. 12,000 yearly. The Burdwan water-works owe their existence to the munificence and liberality of the Raj. Much of the credit for this wise and liberal administration of the Burdwan Raj is due to Raja Bon Bihari Kapur, the natural father of the present minor Maharajah of Burdwan. Appointed sole manager in 1891, he has since very ably and wisely steered the ship of estate through troublous and tempestuous seas, winning fresh laurels for his industry and capability every year and the golden opinion of everybody who came in contact with him. We all sincerely wish the young Maharaj Kumar long life and prosperity. When he comes of age, may he follow the noble example of munificent liberality and beneficence which his illustrious forefathers have set before him!

I close this article with the following details of the works of public utility constructed by the zemindars of the Hooghly district:—

1. Tribeni bridge (masonry)—by Prankissen Haldar.
2. Metalled road from Ghyretty to Chandernagore—Kasinath and other Banerjees of Teliniparah. Surya Mohan Banerjee founded two scholarships for the Hooghly College.
3. Iron suspension bridge of Satgaon—Raja of Burdwan and other zemindars.
4. Iron suspension bridge, Mogra—Raja of Burdwan.
5. Smyth's ghât—Chakuram Singh and other zemindars.
6. Gholghât—Ramkumar Roy, zemindar.
7. Old Benares road to Janai—Ram Naryan Mookherjee, zemindar.
8. Buxagori road to Balagarh—Bhogobatty Charan Bose, zemindar.
9. Hât Bahadurgung to Jirat—Madan Dutt, zemindar.
10. Magra to Bhastrara—Chakuram Singh, zemindar.
11. Iron suspension bridge, Nanserai—Raja of Burdwan and other zemindars.
12. Nanserai to Culna road and two bridges—Raja of Burdwan.

13. Hooghly Branch School—Burdwan Raj, Dwarka Nath Tagore and other zemindars (with a zemindari scholarship of Rs. 8 monthly for the same).
14. Road from Jonai to Saraswati and Connagore—Zemindars of Jonai.
15. Road from Baidyabati to Govindpore. The same zemindars of Jonai.
16. Feeder road from Haripal to Bunderhatty—By Nri-shingha Chandra Addy at a cost of Rs. 15,000.
17. Kholsini road—By the sons of late Nil Rotton Bose of Chandernagore.
18. Road from Mohiri to Howrah—By Annoda Prosad Kundu Chowdhury at a cost of Rs. 20,310. He also maintains a school and an alms-house at Mohiri.
19. Kyekala H. C. E. School—By Brindabon Chandra Bose, zemindar, and solely maintained by him.
- 20.—Andul H. C. E. School—By the Raja of Andul, who also maintains an *atithsala* in Andul.
21. Rajgung and Andul road—By the Andul Raj at a cost of Rs. 8,000.
22. Saraswati Bridge at Andul—By the Andul Raj.
23. Road from Burdwan to Culna extending over 30 miles—By the Raja of Burdwan.

There is hardly a single road in the Hooghly district which has not been constructed by the zemindars. They have also materially assisted Government in the construction of the following roads:—

- (1) The road from Baidyabati to Haripal; (2) from Chinsurah to Dhoniakhali; (3) from Hooghly to Dwarbasini; (4) from Pandooah to Culna; (5) from Howrah to Jagutbullabpore. It is these communications which have given so great an impetus to the growing trade and prosperity of the district, and they have all been made, most of them entirely, and some partly, at the expense of the landholding class. It is not only in the district of Hooghly, but in others as well, that the public spirit of the zemindars has been manifest in this way.

ICH DIEN.

ART. VIII—THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA.

“INDIA possesses,” says Sir William Wedderburn, “the conditions of almost boundless agricultural wealth. In her vast domain she has climates suited to every known product. She has a fertile soil and an unfailing sun, with abundant labour, skilful and cheap. Give the ryot that, on reasonable terms, so that he may be able to command a proper supply of water and manure, and he will produce in perfection every valuable crop known to cultivation. But unfortunately at present the ryot as a class has no capital.”

India is a vast country, almost a Continent, full of inexhaustible natural resources. Her poverty is mainly due to ignorance, prejudice, and want of enterprising spirit on the part of her people to develop and utilise these resources and thereby bring out her potential wealth. Instead of joining in an indiscriminate rush, either towards the learned professions, which have ceased to be lucrative by reason of overcrowding and keen competition, or to Government service, the scope of which is too limited to afford employment to more than a few, they would do well to cultivate the growth of local industries. These are mainly the construction of Railways, Canals and Irrigation Works, roads and bridges, the reclamation of marshes, the provision and regulation of a local water-supply, and a better method of conducting agricultural and manufacturing operations. The last two fall within the scope of private enterprise ; the rest are largely dependent upon Government aid.

Of the three principal elements for the production of wealth, land, labour, and capital, India possesses a unique advantage as regards the first two. She has an abundance of fertile and culturable land and available cheap labour. The deficiency of capital can be remedied by means of Joint Stock Companies which, if well organised and conducted on economical principles, would afford the means of turning to good account small capitals belonging to several individuals. Small capitals, which, if separately applied, would do little towards the production of wealth, are brought together by Joint Stock Companies and accomplish industrial works of the utmost importance. A thousand individuals who have saved Rs. 1,000 each, may not have the time, capacity or inclination themselves to employ the money in business. If each of these individuals subscribed his Rs. 1,000 to one common fund, a capital would be created sufficient to work a large Manchester manufactory, and they

would become proprietors and promoters of a great commercial concern, annually employing many hundreds of labourers.

All the available means of enriching India being at hand, how is it that she is getting poorer and poorer day by day? Why are vast areas of land lying fallow for want of cultivation? Why are local industries gradually dying out and giving place to foreign enterprise? Why, notwithstanding many local advantages, are the people of India being beaten hollow in the contest for commercial supremacy? The reason is not far to seek. They lean too much on State support. They have a mistaken notion that everything must be done by Government for the people and nothing by the people, forgetting the golden principle that God helps those who help themselves. The principles of free-trade have been pronounced by competent authorities to be more beneficial than those of protection. State aid clogs and hampers private industry instead of fostering it.

Then, again, the middle class gentry, though poor, labour under a narrow prejudice against agricultural or commercial pursuits, which they are in the habit of treating as menial, ignoring the important truth, that no avocation, so long as it is an honest means of gaining a livelihood, is ignoble. Prejudice against sea-travel has also a considerable share in keeping the people of India ignorant of modern improvements in the arts of agricultural and manufacturing industry. The reason why the native handicrafts have been to a great extent supplanted by European industries conducted with the help of machinery is that the Hindus who constitute the bulk of the Indian population cannot overcome the popular prejudice against visiting foreign countries to obtain scientific knowledge, without which it is hopeless to carry on these pursuits successfully in competition with European skill and machinery. They ought to know that travelling by sea to foreign countries for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge is not against the principles of Hindu religion. According to the authority of the Mahabharat what is beneficial to mankind is in conformity with religion. As useful sea-travel is beneficial to mankind, it is perfectly allowable although not sanctioned by the Dharma-Shastras. The Hindu religion, as inculcated in the Upanishads and the Geeta, is liberal in its provisions. In case of conflict between these original Scriptures and the Dharma-Shastra, which is a later compilation, the authority of the former should prevail. There is no conflict between true religion and *shanatan* (everlasting) Hindu religion. Sea-travel as it is beneficial to mankind is consistent with true religion and, therefore, consistent with Hindu religion irrespectively of the provisions of the Dharma-Shastras.

Let us now see what are the best methods of developing the local industries in India. These industries are mainly two, agricultural and manufacturing.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

—India is purely an agricultural country, nearly 83 per cent. of her population being agricultural. When so large a proportion of the people are engaged in husbandry, they will fare badly unless it undergoes considerable improvement. "No doubt the margin of cultivation," says Mr. T. N. Mukerji, "has rapidly expanded on all sides. Where formerly the roar of the tiger broke the stillness of the sleeping jungle, the busy hum can be heard of the multitude reaping the golden harvest. A more careful cultivation has also enabled valuable to take the place of less valuable crops." But our peasants are ignorant of agricultural science even of an elementary character. Their imperfect knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil, of the best means of manuring it, of the choice of seeds, and their inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects, prevent them from obtaining the best available outturn.

The nature of the soil is different in different parts of India. Some soils are low, others high, some moist and marshy, others hard and rocky, some waste and sterile, others arable and fertile. How to improve the soil, to know what particular soil is adapted to the growth of a particular crop, or how many different crops can be annually raised without impairing the fertility of the soil, in these and other divers matters the husbandmen are guided more by a sort of instinct than the principles of agricultural science. They can deal only with the limited cases coming within the range of their experience, and when anything unusual turns up, they are out of their element. If to their natural sagacity they added the advantage of agricultural knowledge of a scientific nature, much benefit would be derived.

The outturn of crops is materially affected by the ignorance of our peasantry of the best method of manuring the soil. What sort of manure is adapted to particular soils, when, how, and in what proportion to use it, cannot be satisfactorily known without some knowledge of chemistry. The result is that the capital and labour bestowed upon land often go for nothing. It is high time that steps should be taken to teach the husbandmen the art of manuring so as to reduce the chance of failure of crops to a minimum.

The want of a proper knowledge and choice of seed has also its share in the failure or scanty growth of crops. The husbandmen, on account of their necessities, consume or dispose

of all their paddy and wheat, keeping little or nothing for seed. This is either advanced to them by the landlord or has to be obtained by borrowing. Seed secured under such difficulties cannot be expected to be the best, or such as the tenant requires. The choice is often left to the landlord, who, in most cases not having seen the land and not knowing its nature and properties, is in a worse position than the tenant to make a proper selection. The agricultural knowledge of a scientific nature, so needful in these matters, should, under existing circumstances, begin at least with the land-holding classes, from whom, by a natural process of filtration, it will gradually permeate to the cultivators of the soil.

The art of agriculture has retained its indigenous character in India, and is susceptible of much improvement. For instance, the ploughing machine may be so constructed as to be capable of being drawn by one bullock instead of two as are necessary at present. A similar alteration in the machine may, when worked with two bullocks, be made to form two furrows at a time instead of one. The English plough, no doubt, turns up more earth and makes a deeper cut than the implement used by the Indian peasant, but if we calculate the comparative net profits after deducting the expenses of cultivation by means of the two implements, the native method is more remunerative. While the use of simple tools is indispensably necessary, the opinion of experts may be advantageously availed of with a view to introducing the use of such English implements of husbandry as are simple, fit for using with bullocks, and productive of larger profits than are derived by the use of native tools.

Some knowledge of Botany is necessary to improve our horticulture and agriculture. As our preservation and healthy existence depend upon a knowledge of medical science, so those of the vegetable kingdom depend upon a knowledge of Botany. Inability to protect their crops from the ravages of birds and insects is another cause why our peasants cannot reap a full harvest. It has been stated on good authority that through the ravages of the weevil in the grain of India, no less a sum than half a crore of rupees is annually lost to the country. By counteracting the ravages of this insect, this amount could be secured and the wealth of India correspondingly increased.

An objection may be raised that our husbandmen are so ignorant that it would be difficult to give them even an elementary agricultural education, but it should be borne in mind that they have practical knowledge of the subject sufficient to enable them to understand and profit by the kind of theoretical knowledge which they require.

A primitive system of husbandry which sufficed to meet the wants of a scanty population when there was abundance of land available, no longer suffices now that the demand for human food has become so great and so large an area of poor soil has to be tilled.

—Sir James Caird, probably the highest agricultural authority in England, says: "The agricultural system, except in the rich and irrigated lands, is to eat or sell every saleable article the land produces, to use the manure of the cattle for fuel, and to return nothing to the soil in any proportion to that which is taken away. Crop follows crop without intermission, so that Indian agriculture is becoming simply a process of exhaustion."

The test of agricultural success lies in making the land yield not only a greater quantity, but a better quality, of crops than is ordinarily produced. This can be done only by a better system of manuring the land, and by those improved methods of cultivation that have been pointed out in the preceding pages. The various superior specimens of country produce shown in Exhibitions establish the fact that the soil is capable of producing a superior quality of crops, if only the requisite amount of skilful labour is bestowed on it. There are certain fruits which greatly improved when produced in certain localities, such as the oranges of Sylhet and the mangoes of Bombay and Maldah. Experiments should be made in order to produce such superior fruits in other parts of India. Similar experiments should be tried on potatoes and Indian corn.

Gradually the experiment should be extended to foreign produce. Cabul fruits of various description are remarkable for their excellence. Has anybody tried the experiment of introducing their cultivation in India? No doubt English fruits and vegetables are grown in India, but we should not stop short until we have succeeded in producing these exotics as excellent as they are in the country of their origin. For this purpose a knowledge of the nature and properties of the soil is indispensably necessary. There are instances in which Europeans have made considerable fortunes by taking on lease vast areas of what had hitherto remained waste and successfully cultivating a particular crop or discovering mines. Europeans have opened our eyes not only to the wonderful capabilities of the soil, but the excellent properties of many plants and vegetables which we formerly regarded as useless. For instance, wild tea grew in this country; but nobody knew its uses until European planters began its cultivation here. The tea industry has attained a great development, especially in Assam. But, like many other local industries, it has been monopolised by foreigners. British capitalists have sown and

are now reaping the harvest hundred-fold. Yet for the last five seasons the tea of Mr. M. L. Haldar, Manager, National Tea Company, has secured the highest prices in the market. It is not lack of capacity, but lack of enterprise, which stands in the way of native progress in the development of the local industries in India.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

The cotton industry of India, which had almost died out, shows signs of revival, at least in Bombay. Mr. Jamsetjee N. Tata, a public-spirited gentleman of Bombay, who has recently established a handsome endowment for the encouragement of original research, published, some time ago, a valuable memorandum suggesting experiments on a large scale in the growth of Egyptian cotton in India. "The present state of our cotton industry in India, is," he writes, "a subject of great anxiety not only to the capitalists who have invested very large sums in the erection and purchase of buildings and machinery but to all who have the well-being of India at heart. Our greatest reliance is at present on a foreign country, China. But there is an awakening of the nations of the farthest East. The new infant prodigy Japan is advancing in all the arts and sciences with leaps and bounds, and the old giant China seems to be just awakening from her sleep of ages. Then Germany, Austria and Belgium have seriously come forward to compete with England in the effort to stuff us with their manufactures. Under these circumstances it has become an obvious necessity for us all to consider how our young industry is to be saved from threatened destruction."

If we look at the statistics of our foreign imports, our attention is at once riveted by the enormous amount of grey, dyed and printed goods we receive at our four principal ports. The sum of these imports totals up to an average of not less than thirty crores of rupees per annum. These are principally superior classes of goods made from foreign cotton. Some passable wefts of the coarser grades may be made from our home-grown cotton; but for the higher classes of goods the use of exotic cotton is more or less necessary. If India were enabled to grow for herself the long-stapled varieties she would derive immense benefit in three different directions:—

- (1) Her agriculturists would have an additional and probably more paying crop to handle.
- (2) The country would gain by having so much less foreign produce to import and pay for.
- (3) The State would gain immensely in its exchange operations if India were not under the necessity of

importing goods to clothe her people to the extent of very nearly 30 crores per annum.

If the cultivation of Egyptian cotton proved at all feasible, it might be the means of solving one of the greatest problems of the generation.

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The sugar industry of India is being gradually developed. The area under sugarcane has enormously increased during the last quarter of a century; while the task of extracting the juice has been cheapened and simplified by the introduction of the portable roller mills which India owes to the enterprise of Messrs. Burrows, Thompson & Co. The immense home-production has not, however, sensibly affected foreign imports. Almost every tropical country is laid under contribution. Mauritius, the Islands of the Spanish Main, South America, even Germany compete to supply an ever-growing demand. And yet it admits of no dispute that the consumption of sugar would be still vaster, but for the suspicion with which orthodox Hindus regard the refined article. For most people know that the snowy color so much admired in the higher grades is the result of filtration through layers of animal charcoal made by calcining the bones of animals both clean and unclean. The people of India must overcome the prejudice against the use of sugar refined by the above process before they can be expected to improve the sugar industry of the country. In most countries the opportunity of catering for a population twice as large as Russia would long since have been seized upon by capitalists. Here, in spite of the contagion of foreign enterprise, it is only within the last few years that an attempt has been made to exploit this untrodden field.

The Cawnpore Sugar Works, a limited company with a capital of six lakhs, largely held by Indians, is engaged in turning out daily 15 to 20 tons of refined sugar of absolute purity. Cawnpore has been selected as the sphere of its operations, because it is the greatest railway centre in India, has an abundance of cheap labour, and is already an important market for crude sugar. "At present," says Mr. Skrine, late of the Indian Civil Service, "the company's sugar is largely bought by brokers who insist on supplying their own bags and who dub it by whatever name stands highest for the time in the market. Now the old proverb 'good wine needs no bush' certainly does not apply in modern commerce. He who wishes to succeed must 'boom' his wares. The company would be well advised if they inserted on every bag a certificate in several languages, signed by a Hindu of high caste, and great repute, testifying to its purity. The contents should be

secured by a leaden seal bearing the sign of Saraswati, which might also be stamped very legibly on each bag. Agents should be appointed for the vend of this special product at all the great centres of population. With these precautions the Cawnpore Sugar Works would soon become a household word in millions of Hindu families, and its wares would be in equal request with all who value purity in the great sweetener of their existence."

THE MINERAL INDUSTRY.

The mineral wealth of India has to some extent been developed. The soil in any place is chiefly composed of underlying rocks which largely determine its value and show its capabilities. There is, therefore, great reason for acquiring a knowledge of the geology of the country. India is rich in good iron ore, but without coal it cannot be smelted on a large scale. For a number of years scientific men have been engaged in the Geological Survey of India, and already several valuable coalfields have been discovered. The East Indian Railway uses Bengal coal costing only Rs. 2 per ton, while imported coal costs Rs. 15. The saving to the company in 1885 alone amounted to upwards of 30 lakhs. Nor is this the only gain. Mr. T. N. Mukerjee estimated that through the coal and coke brought to Calcutta no less than 50 lakhs a year was saved to that city and its neighbourhood.

"By the introduction of coal and coke the land formerly covered with firewood trees has been relieved for the cultivation of rice. Not only have those lands been made available for a more valuable crop, but by the substitution of an underground product, the whole of the present underground product is so much new wealth to the country."

The principal art of production of wealth lies in this, that every country should mainly produce that for which it has the greatest natural advantages. England is rich in coal and iron the great requirements of modern manufactures. It is, therefore, most profitable to England to import food and raw produce giving in exchange manufactured goods. India has plenty of iron ore, but it has only scattered patches of coal without which the former is of little avail. It is also only recently that these patches have been worked. On the other hand India has fertile plains with brilliant sun-shine, favourable to the growth of cotton, grain, indigo, &c. While manufactures should be encouraged, India must remain chiefly agricultural.

FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Steps should be taken to improve foreign commerce, for it has proved a great incentive to the production of wealth.

The husbandman of Bengal formerly grew almost everything for himself. A holding then, upland or low-land, with clayey or sandy soil, was forced to produce all manner of crops whether the soil was favourable or not for the growth of a particular crop. Now, with money in his pocket to buy oil, one finds it pays him better to grow paddy on land on which he formerly grew oilseeds; while another at the same time finds it more lucrative to sow oilseeds where formerly he sowed rice. Jute had no exchangeable value before; it has been converted into gold by the mere touch of foreign trade. Some years ago myrabolams could be seen rotting in the jungles; foreign trade has turned them into valuable commodities.

It is gratifying to note that foreign commerce has increased from 2 crores a year to 190 crores. Mr. T. N. Mukerjee says:—

“The vast increase in our exports and imports, that has taken place of late years, signifies that our increasing purchasing power is being utilised for the purchase of articles which we now consider necessary for the satisfaction of our wants. The increase in our purchasing power has taken place owing to the following reasons:—

(1) The readiness other countries have expressed to exchange their goods for our goods; (2) the facilities afforded for this exchange by a settled Government and the improved means of inter-communication between different countries; (3) the increase in the quantity of our wealth by increased production; (4) the increase in the value of our wealth compared with foreign wealth with which it is exchanged.”

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

The permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves. False ideas with regard to labour should be given up. Educated young men in India should be willing to engage in any occupation that offers an honest livelihood. “The sooner the idea that Government employment is the Ultima Thule of education is scooped out of the heads of our youths the better. The wielding of a spade or the driving of a plough, or the treading of a watering lever in one’s interest, is not a whit less honourable than scratching foolscap by goose-quills, taken by itself.”

Side by side with agricultural improvement there should be development of the manufactures of the country. One thing which struck Sir James Caird was the number of idle people in India.

“In no agricultural country that I know of are so many people to be seen strolling idly about during the hours of labour

as in India. The streets and court-houses and yards are full of idlers; the roads are never empty, and the railway stations and native railway carriages are crammed with people. Entering a village at any hour of the day you are surrounded by idlers. Much of this arises from the absence of other occupations than agriculture."

The Famine Commissioners begin their report by saying:—

"We have elsewhere expressed our opinion that at the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for the present can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such support."

Sir William Hunter thus pointed out the necessity of using every means for improving Indian manufacture. "There is no use in disguising the fact that India has to compete with other countries in her industries in a way which she has not done before. India has to compete with Australia for wheat, with China for tea, with California and other countries, and she will only be able to do this if she gives her children the same kind of education as the people of those places have. That lies at the root of all technical education. We wish that our agriculture shall beat the agriculture of other countries; that our artisans in metals shall beat the artisans of other countries; that our employes in cotton mills shall beat those of other countries; and if you are to enable them to go so far, you must give them the education of those in the other countries, and I sincerely hope that the country will take hold of this feeling."

Among the articles or processes may be named the manufacture and refining of sugar; the tanning of hides; the manufacture of fabrics of cotton, wool and silk; the preparation of fibres of other sorts and of tobaccos; the manufacture of paper, pottery, glass, soap and candles. We should not forget the old saying current in our country that commerce is the abode of the goddess of wealth. Some of these arts are already practised with success at Government establishments, such as the tannery at Cawnpore, which largely supplies harness for the army. The resolution of the Government of India, that in all cases where Indian manufactures can be obtained as good in quality as imported articles and not dearer in price they shall be substituted for them, is an encouragement to their production.

The plan proposed by the Famine Commissioners is as follows :—

"In treating of the improvement of agriculture we have indicated, how we think the more scientific methods of Europe may be brought into practical operation in India by help of specially trained experts, and the same general system may, we believe, be applied with success both to the actual operations of agriculture and to the preparation for the market of the raw agricultural staples of the country. Nor does there appear any reason why action of this sort should stop short at agricultural produce, and should not be extended to the manufactures which India now produces on a small scale or in a rude form, and which with some improvement might be expected to find enlarged sales and could take the place of similar articles now imported from foreign countries."

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

ART IX.—LORD LYTTON AND THE AFGHANS.

LADY BETTY BALFOUR'S pious labour has recalled the memory of a national tragedy which has been somewhat hidden from the present generation by more recent anxieties. But the events of 1878-80 have not passed away without leaving permanent marks upon the fortunes of British India. Pollock and Pelly are gone—the two men who could have told most about the genesis of the trouble. All the protagonists, Nemesis, with her sinister smile, has swept into her bag; Sher Ali in exile and despair, Colley and Cavagnari in bloody tumult, Lord Lytton himself—all have disappeared; and it is left to us to review their doings and take note of the lessons they have left. Lady Betty has done her work with intelligence and zeal; and two of the few competent survivors, Sir J. Strachey and Sir A. C. Lyall, have given help. Other matters—famine, finance, etc., have come under notice; but no doubt can be felt, but that the chapters of deepest actuality are those which relate to the Afghan nation and the war.

As the first duty of critics is to criticise let us get that part of our task over by pointing out two objections which can be easily met in a second edition. The one is to the form and bulk of the work. It weights $2\frac{3}{4}$ pounds avoirdupois, and it may safely be wagered that the fair author has never attempted to read it on her sofa. The other is the inattentive proof-reading which has led to printers' errors unusual in a work issued by the house of Longman. Of these the drollest is at page 53, where the word "khureeta" is made to mean the name of a place, instead of what we all know—or should know—to be its true signification. "Sir L. Pelly will be accompanied by Dr. Bellew and Major St. John, for the purpose of delivering at *Khureeta* a letter, etc." Slips of this kind ought to be corrected by a careful and competent reader, whose attention might also be drawn to errors of detail such as that on page 18, where Lord Dalhousie is represented as making a treaty with the Amir Dost Mohammed in 1857, more than a year after he had laid down his office and gone home to die. As for the shape and size of the book—which is at present a sore obstacle to its enjoyment—an improvement could be made by dividing it into two parts, war and Administration, and issuing it in two handy volumes, of which one would deal with Famine work and Finance, the other being confined to the subject now under notice.

The first Chapter is that in which the direct inspiration of Sir J. Strachey is most perceptible; and the reader will regret

to find that ill-health has caused a diminution of his valuable aid in later portions. It contains, however, important matter, now for the first time made public, which goes far to absolve Lord Lytton from responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities. In earlier days he had sat at the feet of John Lawrence when that advocate of "masterly inactivity" was his neighbour at Brocket; the causes of his conversion are shown here from authentic and hitherto unedited correspondence. The Chapter gives a fair comparison of the Laurentian doctrine with the "forward policy," reducing the differences to a comparatively narrow field. Both Lawrence and his opponents were for maintaining the integrity of the Afghan State; where they differed was as to the method. According to Lawrence the State was to be regarded as entirely independent, to be protected, as an ally: all threats or aggressions from Russia to be at once taken up as *casus belli* against that Empire. The "Forwards" on the other hand, regarded the Amir and his dominions as an informal annexe or dependency—the relation was not clearly defined—and our action was to be mainly applied to keeping things quiet by the presence and instrumentality of British Agents at Herat and Kandahar. The writers of the 1st Chapter admit that Lord Lytton was appointed and instructed in order that he might carry out this latter scheme, which thus becomes a part of the general policy of the Cabinet of St. James, in which India was little more than a passive implement.

War was probably contemplated from the first. Hostilities with Russia, indeed, formed no part of the original programme; not only because it was an element of the policy to deal with Kabul rather than with Petersburg, but because the Czar's Government had accepted the northern frontier of the Afghan territory as the limit of his influence. But the Amir Sher Ali had long been in a sullen humour; and from the moment when Mr. Disraeli contemplated the possibility of having to interfere on behalf of Turkey in the impending attack by Russia, it must have been clear that trouble would arise for us in Central Asia.

Lord Lytton became Viceroy of India in March 1876, and in November of the same year General Ignatieff presented his famous ultimatum to the Porte; on the 24th April 1877 the Czar declared war against Turkey; and in May the British Foreign Secretary addressed a remonstrance to the Cabinet of the Czar; but by the end of the year the Turks had ceased to offer any valid resistance to the Muscovite advance, which in January 1878 was approaching Adrianople. The British Government lost not a day in making preparations for war, and on the 31st Parliament was called on for a vote

of credit avowedly for that object. In April (during the recess of Parliament) a considerable body of troops was ordered from India to the Mediterranean. This measure was immediately met by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg with an order to the Governor-General of Turkistan to depute a Mission to Kabul.

So far all is plain: the difficulty arises when we enquire how far the coming of this Mission—which reached Kabul in July—was a justification for the steps taken by the Government of India. What Lord Lytton did was to call upon the Amir to receive a British Mission at Kabul in the same manner. The Amir had two lines of excuse: he had not invited the Russian Mission; and by this time it had departed, or was about to do so. It has since been averred that Sher Ali had even gone the length of causing the death of the Afghan official who had allowed the Russian Mission to pass his fortified station: and Yákub Ali, the son and successor of Sher Ali, afterwards assured Sir F. Roberts that the Russian Mission left Kabul, *proprio motu*, as soon as the Berlin Congress was known to have assembled. Yákub also said—and it is quite confirmed by the book under notice—that General Kaufmann, the Governor-General of Turkestan, had been in correspondence with Sher Ali ever since 1873.

But none of these things were Sher Ali's fault; and the question was at once raised in London, by no less than Lord Lawrence himself, whether it was necessary to regard them as affording the Government of India a just ground for quarrelling with the Amir, or even for exerting any pressure upon his Highness that might amount to a provocation?

But Lord Lytton's mind was by this time made up. He had long formed a very strong preconception on the subject. According to this view, Sher Ali was very much the same sort of man that President Kruger has since been taken to be: "Sher Ali is not only a savage, but he is a savage with a touch of insanity. . . . During the last twelve months he has been arming to the teeth," (page 244.) Again, after pointing out the nature of the opportunity which was now offered, he proceeds—in the same despatch—"one last word. I am persuaded that the policy of building up in Afghanistan a strong and independent State, over which we can exercise absolutely no control, has been proved by experience to be a mistake." (246.) He therefore came to the conclusion that the independence of the Afghan Power ought to be absorbed, with a feudatory Khanate on the western border—"the destinies of Kabul itself would then be to us a matter of no importance." (247) Ultimately British India and Asian Russia might become continuous; and with that object in view he proposed the creation of a "scientific frontier" (250).

The first move towards this grandiose design was evidently the destruction of Sher Ali; and it was with that ulterior object that Lord Lytton urged on the British Government that he should not merely propose to the Amir the reception of a European British Envoy in Kabul, but should be authorised to "insist upon it." (page 270). This he did knowing that it was likely, if not certain, that Sher Ali would refuse, as he had already refused to allow such an officer to be even posted to Herat (85-87.)

That Lord Lytton was a man of genius may not be denied; but two things are clearly demonstrated by the logic of events. The policy was his own in the sense in which the somewhat similar policy of Auckland in a former generation was the policy of that ruler; and the undertaking has failed in the one case as much as it did in the other. Auckland's attempt on the independence of Afghanistan cost the British Empire fifteen millions of money, and ended in Dost Mahomed becoming stronger than he had been before, and founding a dynasty. Lord Lytton's undertaking, after a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, ended in the establishment of the present Amir, Abdur Rahman, in greatly enhanced power, and left the scientific frontier to be settled by his successors after a dispute with Russia in which the Government of India deserted its ally, and from which it emerged with difficulty and not without humiliation.

These are facts, not opinions. They do not detract from the merits of Lady B. Balfour's book, its calm tone and patient research. Nor ought they to detract from the admiration due to her distinguished parent, who—in constant ill-health and under the opposition of many reluctant colleagues—confronted heavy trials with gentle and unflinching courage. But perhaps he was made for other things than to be an antitype of his father's ballad, from Schiller, descriptive of Pegasus in harness.

ART. X.—THE BARA BHUYAS OF BENGAL.

THE close of the sixteenth century was a very troublous period for Bengal, the severe struggle which the Afghans and the Moguls were then making for supremacy having thrown the country into the utmost confusion. Taking advantage of this disturbed state of things, twelve principal zemindars, who are known as the Bara Bhūyas, took up an attitude of independence. The status of these Bhūyas is not easily determinable. In fact, very little is known of the Bengal landholders before Akbar's reign. But this much is certain, that, about the year 1541, Sher Shah divided the districts of Bengal among a number of officers who were independent of each other; and that a few years afterwards, Islam Khan abolished all former regulations regarding jagirs. Both history and tradition inform us that the twelve Bhūyas were independent of each other, that their rank and jurisdiction were hereditary, that they retained armed men and war-vessels, that they remitted to the Governor the revenue of their districts, and that they yielded a general obedience to the ruling power at Delhi. In some respects they were jagirdars and chakladars; but they more closely resembled the zemindars of later times. These Bhūyas ruled in East and South Bengal, and their territories lay in portions of the modern districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera, Noakhali (Bhullooah), Backargunge, Faridpur (Bhusnah) and Jessore.

Of these aristocratic lords, as Purchas calls them, seven were Mahomedans and five Hindus. Some of these Bhūyas were visited by the famous London merchant, Ralph Fitch, and he says that owing to the very unsettled state of the country they were in rebellion against the Great Mogul, Gelaluddin Akbar. Of all the Bhūyas Isa Khan of Khizrpur was the most powerful. He is described by the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari* as the lord of Lower Bengal and as ruler over twelve great zemindars. His father was a Bais Rajput of Oude, who, coming to Bengal during the reign of Hossein Shah, became a convert to Mahomedanism, receiving on that occasion the title of Sulaiman Khan. The new convert was honoured by the king with the hand of a princess who bore him two sons and one daughter. Their father being slain in battle, the two sons were taken prisoners, and sold as slaves. They were subsequently traced to Turan (Tartary), whence they were brought back by their uncle, Kutubuddin.

Like his father Isa Khan also married a princess and rose high in power and opulence. When, after Daud's defeat in 1576, his

scattered forces sought shelter in the Bhati country, he, in concert with Kárim Dad and Ibrahim, took command of them and proclaimed his independence. In 1583 the Mogul General, Shahbaz Khan, attacked Baktápur, his residence, and, having destroyed it, took possession of his capital Sonárgáon. By this time Isa had probably acquired the position of Bhúya, as he was especially designated "the rich zemindar." After his defeat, he fled by ship to Chittagong, whence, collecting a body of soldiers he returned to Bengal and lay siege to the fort of the Raja of Kuch Bihar. After capturing the fort he constructed a dwelling-house at Khizrpur, which is situated about a mile to the north of Náráyangang. He subsequently subdued a considerable portion of East Bengal and erected forts at Rangamati on the frontier of Assam; at Tribeni, opposite to Náráyangang, and at Egárah-sindhu, where the Lukhia branches off from the Brahmaputra.

Sircar Sonárgáon, which was the ninth on Todarmall's rent-roll, and comprehended also some parts of the present districts of Tippera and Noakhali, was, with the exception of pargana Bikrampur, included in his rule. In fact, he was the lord of East Bengal. Ralph Fitch visited Sonárgáon in 1586, and he has described Isa Khan as "the chief of all the other kings and a great friend to the Christians."

When Man Singh invaded East Bengal in 1595, he advanced to Egárah-sindhu and besieged that strong fortress. Isa, who was then absent on an expedition, hastened to its relief, and challenged the proud Rajput to single combat. The challenge was accepted, but Man Singh sent in his stead, his son-in-law who was defeated and slain by the brave Isa. Then Man Singh himself entered the lists, but in the first encounter he lost his sword; whereupon the generous Isa offered him his own sword. Man Singh, without accepting it, dismounted from his horse. Isa also did the same and dared his adversary to a wrestling bout. Instead of acceding to his wish, the noble Rajput, struck with the chivalrous conduct of the man, embraced him in the sacred name of friendship. Thus matters ended happily.

Isa accompanied Man Singh to Agra, where the Emperor, being informed of the remarkable combat at Egárah-sindhu, conferred upon him the titles of *Dewan* and *Masned-i-Ali* and made him a grant of several parganas in Bengal. After this we hear nothing of Isa. He appears to have died in 1598. His grandson, Masum Khan, was present at the siege and capture of Hooghly in 1632. The Bhúya rule in Sonárgáon was followed by the rule of the Mahomedan Kazis.

What Isa Khan was in East Bengal, Pratápáditya was in South Bengal. Pratáp was a Bangaja Kayastha, and was the

son of Vikramāditya. The latter was the grandson of Ram Chandra Ray, who was employed in some Government office under the Mahomedan Viceroy of Sātgaon. The former seat of the family was Raigarh, whence Pratápāditya removed to Jessore, so called from its having stripped Gaur of its glory. As the possessions of Pratápāditya principally lay at the mouths of the Ganges, he was styled the hero of the Sundarbans. Purchas describes him as the "king of Candecan." "Candecan" (Chandkhan) was probably the name of the pargana of which Jessore was the capital.

Pratáp's daughter was married to the young Raja Ram Chandra Ray of Chandradwip, while his son married into the noble house of Sripur. But, though he bore such close relations to those two renowned families, he was anything but friendly to them. He quarrelled with the chief of Sripur; and, as for his son-in-law the Raja of Chandradwip, he attempted to kill him for the sake of his vast estates, which he always viewed with a longing eye. Ram Chandra narrowly escaped from the trap which had been laid for him, and the natural consequence was that the son-in-law became a mortal enemy of the father-in-law. In this quarrel Ram Chandra's wife suffered the most. She lost the love of her husband, went to Kasi and died broken-hearted at that sacred city. While residing in the vicinity of Bakla, in anxious expectation of being taken back into the Chandradwip palace, she established a market at that place which still goes by the name of *Baothakuran's hāt*.

Pratápāditya, as his name implies, was very powerful, and his forces were pretty considerable. He, it would seem, lived chiefly by piracy. Elated with pride, he defied the authority of the Emperor and stopped the payment of revenue. Steps were taken with a view to bringing him back to obedience, but all to no purpose, until in Jehangir's reign Man Singh, besieging him in his fort at Jessore, took him prisoner. Pratáp died at Benares while he was being taken to the Imperial presence. The capture of Jessore and the defeat of Pratápāditya formed the subject of Bhárat Chandra Ray's admirable poem called *Man Singh*.

Chand Rai was only second to Isa Khan in power in East Bengal. His ancestor, Nim Chand Rai, came from the North-West, and settled at Phulbaria in Bikrampur, which then lay on the west of the Ganges. Chand Rai was well versed in Persian and Arabic. His fame for learning having spread far and wide, he was sent for by the Emperor Humayun, who, being pleased with him, appointed him civil Judge (*Dewan Ahilkar*) of the Carnatic. He was the first *Bhūya* of Bikrampur, which title, it is said, was afterwards made hereditary in

the family by the reigning sovereign. Chand Rai, with all his earning, was, however, not a popular ruler. In fact, he ruled with an iron rod, and his oppressions were such that the author of the *Bhaktamāla* did not hesitate to condemn him as the chief of robbers.

When Chand Rai was only twenty years of age, he had a son born to him who was named Kedar. The father soon showed his great love for the infant by building a splendid house which he called Kedarbari. Kedar proved a worthy son, and he and Chand Rai were the Bhūyas of Bikrampur in the reign of Akbar. The two Rais had a very powerful rival in Isa Khan, whose principality lay on the other side of the river, and it was not unoften that they raided into each other's territories. In one of his successful incursions Isa Khan carried off Chand's only daughter, Sonamani, and married her.

The capital of Chand Rai was Sripur, which stood at the confluence of the Ganges (Kirtināsā) and the Megna, and was only three leagues distant from Isa's capital, Sonárgaon. Sripur was visited in 1586 by Fitch, who describes its king as "Chowdéry," and says that he, like some other lords, was in rebellion against the Great Mogul. Chand Rai's influence was confined to Bikrampur, within which he was the monarch of all he surveyed. The ravishment of his daughter by Isa Khan so worked upon his spirits that, entrusting his son Kedar with the management of his estates, he retired altogether from the world. Kedar proved an able ruler and added to his paternal possessions. Purchas states that he had acquired the important island of Sandwip, though he afterwards lost it to the Portuguese early in the seventeenth century. Like the father, the son, too, did not acknowledge the authority of the Mogul Viceroy.

Kedar was the head of the Kayastha community of Bikrampur. Both he and his father were *Saktas* in the worst sense of the term, and their bigotry was such that, not satisfied with sacrificing goats and buffaloes, they killed even cows and Brahmans. Their spiritual guide was Bhrahmanda Giri, who was said to have possessed the rare power of working miracles.

Fitch thus writes about Sripur: "From Bacola I went to Sreepore, which standeth upon the river Ganges; the king is called Chowdéry. They be all hereabout rebels against their king Zebeldin Akbar: for here are so many rivers and islands, that they flee from one to another, whereupon his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here." Sripur has since disappeared in the river, leaving no trace behind.

Kedar Rai built, near Karticpur, a house which he named

Kedarbari after him ; and he also founded a city, Kedarpur, which appears as "Chedderpur" on Bronche's Map.

Kedar's works have all been washed away by the Ganges (Kirtinásá), except the "Rajabari Mouth" and "Kesherman Dighi," both on the north side of that river.

The Chandradwip House comes next in importance. Bakla, of which Chandradwip is the classical name, was at one time a very large pargana and included almost the whole of the present district of Backargunge. It is mentioned in Todarmall's Settlement as one of the nineteen Sircars of Bengal. Akbar's General, Monaim Khan, having conquered Gaur, sent Murad Khan on the conquest of East and South Bengal. In 1574 Murad took Bakla, when Jagadananda Rai was the Raja. In 1585 it was overtaken by a storm-wave in which the Raja along with almost two hundred thousand people perished. The Venetian traveller, Cæsar Frederick, also suffered greatly in this calamitous visitation, while going from Pegu to Chittagong.

Jagadananda was succeeded by his son, Kandarpa Narayan, who obtained the title of Bhūya. Ralph Fitch visited Bakla in 1586, and thus describes it : "From Chatigaon in Bengal I came to Bacola, the king whereof is a gentile, a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot with a gun. His country is very great and fruitful and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth and cloth of silk. The houses be very fair and high builded, the streets large and the people naked, except a little cloth about their waist. The women wear great store of silver hoops about their necks and arms, and their legs are ringed about with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants' teeth."

The original seat of the family was Kachua, close to the modern station of Barisal. Owing to the frequent incursions of the Mugs and the Portuguese, Kandarpa Narayan removed to a place called Madhabpasha, where the Rajas have resided ever since. Abul Fazl states that the Raja of Bakla used to supply 320 elephants and 15,000 infantry for the assistance of the Emperor. This fact is alone sufficient to show that the Raja was very powerful. Kandarpa Narayan died towards the close of the sixteenth century.

Ram Chandra was quite young when he succeeded his father Kandarpa Narayan. He had been married to the daughter of Pratapādityá of Jessore during his father's lifetime ; but the marriage, as we have already stated, proved anything but happy, and the two houses became inimical to each other. The Christian missionary, Fonseca, was in Bakla in the year 1600. He thus describes his interview with Ram Chandra, "The Raja's age is not more than eight years.

He received me with respect and cordiality, and granted me sanad for building a church in the Bakla Raj." From Bakla the good missionary went to Jessore. This appears from the fact that, on being asked by the Raja of Bakla what place he was bound for, he replied that he was going to pay a visit to his Highness's father-in-law, the king of Chandkhan. Du Jarik says that the king of Arracan subdued Bakla in 1602; but the conquest was not of a permanent character. Bakla soon came again into the hands of its king whom we find engaged in contending with Lachsman Manick of Bhullooh, whose estates lay on the other side of the Megna. These two neighbouring Rajas were often at feud. At last, Lachsman was taken prisoner to Chandradwip, where, in a fit of anger, he was murdered by Ram Chandra.

Ram Chandra died during Jehangir's reign, after Dacca had become the capital of Bengal.

In 1630 Sir Thomas Herbert describes "Bakal" (Bakla) as a flourishing city on the banks of the Ganges (Megna). In Bronche's Map also Bakla is noted down as a chief city, thereby showing that even in the latter half of the seventeenth century it had not lost its glory. Afterwards, it was plundered by Amar Manickya of Tipperah. Its present condition is simply deplorable, the once rich and powerful family being now reduced to very great straits.

Lachsman Manick was another of the Bhuyas. He was the lord of Bhullooh (Noakhali), which is situated on the east side of the Megna. The family of which Lachsman was the most distinguished member traced its origin to one Bissumbhar Rai, who first settled in Bhullooh. Lachsman was the seventh in descent from Bissumbhar. He was a contemporary of Kandarpa Narayan Rai whose principality lay on the other side of the river. After Kandarpa's death his minor son Ram Chandra became the Raja of Chandradwip. The Bhullooh Raja used to speak contemptuously of his young neighbour. This coming to the ears of Ram Chandra, he, with a body of armed followers, crossed the Megna in his war-vessels and anchored off Bhullooh. Lachsman, not suspecting any foul play, went on board to welcome Ram Chandra, unaccompanied by any guard. He was at once seized and carried off to Chandradwip, where he would have been immediately killed by his captor, but for the intercession of the Dowager-Queen, who warned her son against committing such a black deed. Lachsman was long kept in confinement. One day Ram Chandra, having gone to see him in the prison, was severely reprimanded by him for his perfidy and cruelty; and Ram Chandra, losing his self-control, ordered Lachsman to be put to death, which was accordingly done.

Lachsman possessed great power, which is best proved by the fact that, though his territories adjoined the dominions of the Raja of Tipperah, he was not molested by him nor pillaged by the Mugs and the Portuguese who committed ravages at the mouths of the Ganges during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The third son of Lachsman was Bejoy Manick, whom Dr. Wise identifies with the Bejoy Manick of Abul Fazl. It is very probable that about this time Bhullooh was annexed by the Raja of Tipperah to his dominions.

Mukunda Rai's title to Bhūyaship is not undisputed, but the probability is that he was one of the number, having Bhusnah for his principality. Towards the close of the thirteenth century the portion which adjoins the districts of Faridpur and Jessore on the south and east respectively came to be known as Bhusnah, a name which still lingers in a small village. The "Kali-Ganga," which since the close of the seventeenth century has ceased to be a flowing stream, passed by it. At one time Bhusnah was a flourishing city. In the fifteenth century it was the capital of one "Sangram Shah." The Afghans, however, could not hold sway over the territory for a long time. In the troublous times which followed the death of Daud they probably lost it to Mukunda Rai, who, it seems, possessed considerable influence in the neighbourhood. Mukunda had a very powerful neighbour in Pratāpāditya; but there is nothing to show that he ever paid homage to him. Rivals they were and rivals they remained all their lives. It is said that a Mogul officer, being charmed with the beauty of a daughter of Mukunda, attacked Bhusnah and took possession of it; but he soon met his end at the hand of the fair princess. Chur Mukundia in Faridpur is the only relic left of the power and greatness of Mukunda Rai. The Madhumati river now waters the portion which was formerly called Bhusnah.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Sitārām Rai flourished in Mahmudpur, Abu Torab was the Fouzdar of Bhusnah. Sitārām killed Abu Torab and took Bhusnah. Upon this the great Nabob, Muṣṣhid Kuli Khan, sent a large army against the Raja of Mahmudpur, who was defeated and taken prisoner. Thus Bhusnah again became a part of the Mogul Empire.

That at one time Bhusnah was a noted place is evidenced by the *setal-pati*, stone-like earthenwares and sugarcane molasses which are still manufactured in this part of the country. The cotton of Bowalmári was much prized by the East India Company. In point of learning, however, Bhusnah cut a very sorry figure and "a Bangal of Bhusnah" is only a cant expression for a fool.

Most of the rent-free lands which are held by Brahman and Kayastha families in the vicinity of Bhusnah were granted either by Mukunda Rai or by Sitáram Rai.

The jungly tract which lies on the north of Dacca, extending towards the Garó Hills, was, in the sixteenth century, administered by a family known as Ghazi. The Ghazis traced their origin to one Palhawán Shah, who lived in the fourteenth century. His son, Karforma Sahib, who was a very holy man, having received as jagir Pargana Bhawal, settled at Chaurá, near Kaligunge on the Lukhia. The eighth in descent from Karforma Sahib was Fazal Ghazi (erroneously called Jona Ghazi by Rouse), who was one of the Bhúyas when the armies of Akbar entered Bengal.

According to tradition the principality ruled over by this family consisted principally of three parganas which are now known as Bhawál, Tálipábád, and Chánd Pratáp. Bhawál, which includes Capassia, the home of *carpas* (cotton), was ruled by Fazl Ghazi, the most celebrated member of the family: Tálipábád was administered by Tala Ghazi, and Chánd Pratáp by Chánd Ghazi. Though Fazl Ghazi was the head, all these three Ghazis were independent of one another, and each assumed to himself the title of *Bhúya*. It would seem that there were three others of the family who, though possessed of comparatively small estates, did not hesitate to take upon themselves the high title of *Bhúya*. The Ghazis were defrauded of their property by their Hindu servants. The descendents of this once rich and powerful family now live upon a few acres of charity land. Such is the instability of human greatness!

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

ART. XL.—THE NECESSITY FOR SPECIAL TRAINING
OF SELECTED MISSIONARY STUDENTS:

(*Independent Section.*)

MY remarks apply solely to India, Further and Nearer, China, and the Extreme Orient. The simple, God-fearing, earnest, Missionary will, for another century, be sufficient to preach the Gospel among the uncultured races of Africa, Oceania, and North and South America, and in the wilder parts of India, China, and Japan; a practical knowledge of Christ and His Gospel will be sufficient to those Missionaries who labour in the rural Districts.

We must remember in starting, that the great races of Eastern Asia are of no mean capacity: although the English found them to a certain extent fallen intellectually some eighty years ago, they are the heirs of a much older civilization than any nation in Europe or North America, and their ancestors have left a literature in many languages equal to that of the Greeks and the Romans. My primary interest in, and acquaintance with, India induces me to place these remarks on paper. The secular schoolmaster has been abroad with the usual result, that in the cities and places of education, among the cultured classes, analogous to those trained in European Universities, the younger generation has awakened as from a dream. There is unrest: "there is a sound of a going in the forest:" the various Sabhas, and Somajes, which are forming, indicate this. The Hindu knows that he has a grand past of many hundred centuries, upon which to look back. How will this movement end? With the men of this generation from the West the issue will rest.

I have for more than half a century studied the religions, and languages, of India, living among the people, speaking several of their languages as my own, and frequenting their places of worship. I have also studied their religious books, and secular literature. For more than twenty centuries they have inhabited the same regions, have erected gigantic monuments, founded mighty kingdoms, written wondrous volumes in prose and verse, and are still in the same country, while the dwellers in the Nile-Valley and Mesopotamia have long fallen from their greatness and been forgotten, and the little tribe of the Hebrews, of which there has been so much talk in Mediæval Europe, never had any greatness to fall from. The new Missionary must lay aside insular and egotistic ideas of the great races of the Orient being savages, or even barbarians; they may indeed wonder how it has happened

that, under the Divine Dispensation, no Apostle or Prophet ever visited them, though so long as we believe that God loved the *whole* world, hated nothing that He had made, and would not that any one should perish, we can only be silent and wonder why these great and noble races had never until this century the chance of being converted. The instructed Missionary should banish from his mind all feeling of contempt and hatred, and consider the problem how, after so many years of torpor, the cultured members of these races are asking, What is the Truth? and How is a man to be saved after death?

The Missionary is supposed to have acquired, or to be in the way of acquiring, the vernacular of the people: he must now study their religious and social customs, not from the prejudiced books of narrow-minded writers of the last generation, but from the full accounts now available, and the books themselves. If he knew Latin and Greek at school, he will find no difficulty in acquiring Sanskrit and Arabic at college, and will be thankful in after life to have done so: but translations of the Sacred Books supply to the younger generation that knowledge which their predecessors had to work out in the original, or to live on in ignorance.

The object to which the Missionary has devoted his life, is to convert souls to a belief in Christ Jesus, and to obedience to His precepts. Let him satisfy himself by reading these excellent books written on the subject, that that form of religion known as Christian is not only the best, very best, because it happens to be the religion of *his own particular* country and people, for this is merely prejudice, and the Hindu and Mahometan think the same with regard to their own form of belief; but it is the best, the very best, because, after a careful examination of the religious tenets of all the book-religions of the world, the calm and unprejudiced judgment comes to the conviction that it is the only one that meets the *wants of the whole Human Race*. Christ Jesus came, in the fulness of time, at a period in human History, when the portion of mankind whom He addressed, were no longer barbarians or, lower still, savages. He came to a world which had past experience of many forms of religious belief. There were the Nature-Worships, or, as they are called scientifically, 'Animistic Conceptions'; the great Book-Religions with hereditary Priesthoods; and in some cases the curse of extreme intolerance, lending itself to the bitter persecution of those who could not agree.

Let me illustrate my meaning by a story well known in my youth. A Scotch Missionary of great power and faith allowed himself to utter words to this effect to an assembly of Indian

people: "You are an ignorant degraded people, and you do not know what you worship: the form of religion which I bring to you is that which is accepted by all the learned and wise people of Europe, and, if you are well advised, you will accept it." I myself heard a Missionary of a few years' experience tell a crowd in the streets, that "their gods were only dung, the dung of the streets." How different was the mode adopted by Paul the Apostle in addressing the people of Athens! What an ignorance did these English Missionaries show of the secret fibres which wind round the human heart, and bind it to the religion of former generations! A humble-minded Hindu would admit, "it is possible that my form of religion is not the best, but I learned it at the feet of my parents and grandparents." Let no words of abuse of the form of religion of ancient races pass the lips of the true servant of God: reserve abuse for moral lapses, and heinous sins, and when such lapses and sins are intertwined with an ancient religion, be pitiful and merciful. Nothing but the action of the Holy Spirit can work a conversion of the soul.

I pass under review the subjects on which the selected Missionary should be instructed by courses of lectures or private reading.

ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD STILL LIVING
REPRESENTED BY SACRED BOOKS:

- I. Brahmanism.
- II. Zoroastrianism.
- III. Judaism.
- IV. Buddhism.
- V. Jainism.
- VI. Confucianism.
- VII. Taouism.
- VIII. Shintoism.

On all these forms of worship or dogma there are available excellent manuals. Of course a Missionary's particular region for his life-labour is selected for him by the Parent Committee, and this will include only a certain number of the religious conceptions entered in this list. Of these, Buddhism and Confucianism are practically atheistical, and to Buddhism must be conceded the honour of being the first Universal Religion of the human race. All others were restricted to a particular race or country. It is strange that Judaism should not have expanded, but the Jews never, in past, or present, times sent out Missionaries for the purpose of conveying knowledge on spiritual things to their neighbours: they cared only for themselves.

The doom is written on every one of these ancient religious conceptions : they belonged to another epoch of the human race ; they have lost whatever spiritual vitality they may have had centuries ago, and are mere empty forms. But in their place all over Asia are springing up new forms of religious conceptions, with which the Missionary student must make himself acquainted. There are two categories :

The old religious conceptions purified, refined, and adapted to the environment of a civilized society.

- I. Islam, with its latest Evolution, Bábiism.
- II. Neo-Judaism.
- III. Neo-Hinduism.
- IV. Neo-Zoroastrianism.
- V. Neo-Buddhism.
- VI. Neo-Confucianism.

None of these are precisely in the same state in which they were before they came into contact with European culture, but they are essentially conceptions built on old conceptions belonging to an earlier period of the human race. The contact with Europe has saved them from the fate of the older religions of the world which I now enumerate :

- I. Egyptian.
- II. Babylonian.
- III. Assyrian.
- IV. Greco-Roman.
- V. Teutonic, Keltic, Slavonic.
- VI. Etruscan.
- VII. Old Semitic.

The thoughtful Missionary, who recognizes the solemn importance, and overwhelming difficulty, of the conversion of souls, which is his life's object, may find serious room for reflection when he examines the lists supplied of extinct religious conceptions, and reformed religious conceptions, showing unmistakably that there is evolution of the human intellect, which has to be dealt with ; but what will he think when he examines the list of modern religious conceptions, the creatures of the Nineteenth Century ? I give them below :

- I. Mormonism.
- II. Theosophy.
- III. Hau Hau, Te Kooti, Tu Whiti, of New Zealand.
- IV. Brahmoism.
- V. Positivism, or Comteism, the Religion of Humanity.
- VI. Agnosticism.
- VII. Unitarianism.
- VIII. Theism.

The relation of the soul of man to God is one of the deepest interest, and ever must be, and a vast series of phenomena have developed themselves since history began. The enlightened Missionary has to consider this, and despise no fellow-creature for feeling after God, if haply he can find Him, for unless the Gospel-Message, as delivered by Christ in His short sojourn of three years, is accepted *ex animo*, the poor foolish human race must grope on in darkness, or go after some shadow, or fall into some such delusion as is represented in the last list of modern religious conceptions. It will not escape notice that these are accompanied by the highest morality, and as a rule the fact of the "Silence of God" since His Son appeared in the world in the form of man has never received attention. No pretences are held out now of miracles, prophecy, augury, theophanies, Divine voices, visions, dreams, Angels, or messages from the dead, thunder and lightning, and comets. This change indicates a prodigious advance in the religious Idea; and betwixt the date of the appearance of Jesus Christ and the preceding ages there is a vast gulf, marking an epoch in the annals of the human race.

We must recollect that the Godless State-Colleges of British India, which are a necessity of our political position in that country, make a clean sweep of the religious idea in any form, though not in any degree of the morality which is the outcome of the more elevated forms of religion. The late Archbishop of Canterbury once remarked in my hearing at a great religious gathering, that we should take heed not to drive the conception of the supernatural out of the young of any non-Christian people before we were ready to plant a substitute in the place of the old and worn-out and imperfect conceptions. Hundreds of young men annually leave the State-College with their intellect as entirely swept clean of the supernatural as cold History, stern Logic, and Physical Science, can make it.

Clever young men, pious middle-aged men, holy and reverend old men, stand up and make the most astounding statements, in favour of some of the new religious conceptions, sometimes in the English, sometimes in the Native Languages, neither violent, nor abusive, nor immoral, and there are not wanting English women who feel themselves called upon to do the same. They use no hard words, nor make use of the familiar expressions of "teaching of Satan," etc., etc.; for, the age of miracles being past, it is a matter of pure reason, and we require Christian champions trained for such contests, full of faith, uttering words of wisdom, of reason, of love, and pity.

The English may lose India, but it does not follow that, in consequence of a political change, the people of India should lose Christ, if only we give timely freedom and independence to the Native Churches, and set the old Native pastors free from the control of the young white Missionary fresh from Europe. It may be a dream, but, looking forward into the Twentieth Century, I seem with the eye of faith to see, studying in one of the State-Colleges in British India, a lad reserved to make a mark in the Christian Church of India.

"Non sine Diis animosus infans."

Sanctified, like Jeremiah, to be a Prophet unto the Nations, he will be learned in all the accumulated wisdom of his Hindu forefathers, their wealth of ritual, philosophy and poetry; their feeling after God during the course of many centuries, if haply they could find Him; their tangled maze of Divine Incarnations, to save mankind; their mystical Triads, their doctrine of judgment after death, and salvation by the power of a Saviour through the great instrument of Bhakti, or Faith; their sense of the great delusion, or *Máya*, which occupied all human affairs; their mystery of Metempsychosis, or Second Birth; their aspirations after holiness: their dream of a remote and dim future when all would be absorbed in one great Essence.

By the aid of those excellent Missionary Associations which send out qualified men to grapple with the educated classes, as they leave the State-Colleges, this coming man will have studied the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in their original languages, and made them his own; and have compared with the originals the Translations into five or six vernaculars of British India, spoken by millions, and into Sanskrit itself: he would not in his studies have made use of the spectacles of European mediæval prescription, but he would have absorbed into his intellect and conscience the *ipsissima verba* of Him who spake like no other man; and he would have pored over the wise, though human, utterances of Paul, who knew nothing of his Master's earthly pilgrimage, and of John the beloved, who accompanied Him from Jordan to the Cross and Mount Olivet.

He will have heard nothing of all the folly and wickedness of the Romish Church from Damascus to Leo X, and would wipe gently off the slate of history, in sympathy and pity, all the inconsistencies of German, Anglican, and Swiss Reformers; who could not get clear of the meshes of past ages, and who knew nothing of the world beyond the limits of the Roman Empire, and its Keltic and Teutonic Colonies.

The world is now opened geographically, intellectually, and spiritually; and we know that there were great men, through

whose mouths a power beyond that of men had spoken in sundry times and divers manners before Moses. The Father of Mankind did not forget any of His poor children during those dreary centuries: He would not that any one should perish, for He so loved the world, *the whole world*, that in the fulness of time He sent His Son to redeem them. Paul unmistakably felt this in his address at Athens and Lystra, but for him Buddha, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, and Socrates, and Plato, had lived, and given forth their immortal utterances in vain, and added nothing to his sum of human knowledge, which was that of a Pharisee and a Pharisee only.

But the youth whom we figure to our eye as holding the great fort of Divine and human knowledge in the Twentieth Century, will, in his armed intellectual strength, based on Oriental as well as Occidental knowledge, have passed beyond the miserable limitations of the Schools of the Asiatic and European Brahmins; will have marked how the great lines of spiritual thought, after wandering through those ages, had converged and settled in the Christian conception, as given in the Gospels, and illustrated in the Epistles. Unassisted human wisdom could create nothing equal to, or desire anything better than, what was there propounded.

To his enlightened vision the resemblance will be evident, though historically and intellectually entirely independent, betwixt the Tablet of Asoka, the Noble Way of Buddha, the precepts of Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Sermon on the Mount, inasmuch as they are all based on Altruism as opposed to Egoism, and on unbounded love to our fellow-creatures, and to the Creator no longer unknown.

So also (I speak with reverence, and with bare feet standing on holy ground) he will ask whether, and why, his own great race, counting by millions, were left since the earliest centuries out of touch with their Creator, who hated nothing that He had made. He will find a new meaning in the celebrated Hindu book, the "Ocean of Love," or *Prema Sāgara*, where he identifies the word with the Greek word *Ἀγάπη* of Paul. He will cease to wonder at the Sanskrit myth of the *Avatāra*, or Incarnation of the Supreme Deity, Krishna, becoming the object of love to thousands, while each individual imagined that he or she was the sole beloved of the Deity. In the wonderful *Bhakti*, or Faith, which was felt in that person of the Triad called the Preserver (*Salvator*), he will realize the meaning given by Paul to *Πίστες*, Faith in One who could save beyond the grave.

Is it too much to believe that, as there has been a Greek and Latin and Teutonic Christianity, agreeing in essentials, differing in details, so there shall come into existence an Oriental

Christianity, and Oriental Theology? This idea has been suggested by high authority. Our youth, a Hindu, can proudly look back to centuries during which he had remained the same even to this day. Two thousand years ago pious Chinese Buddhists crossed the frontier to visit India, and collect documents connected with Buddha: even then the Hindu conception had given off a branch, which developed into Buddhism, the most numerous in the world, while the Hindu temples and worship remained unchanged. Centuries later Islam had invaded India, and held it in subjection for centuries, but there was no change of the great Brahmanical conception, into the folds of which thousands of the non-Arian Pagans voluntarily enter, as a great step up in the world of culture and civilization. Can it be, he would ask himself, that this mighty phenomenon of a religious conception, lasting thousands of years, came into existence *without the Divine Will and Permission?* He finds in History that the conceptions of Zoroaster and Kong-Fu-Tsee go back to the same remote period, and are still alive. But he hears that the ancient Egyptian conception, with its Isis and Osiris, had disappeared two thousand years ago, and its sacred books had vanished from human handling, and contact with human intellect. He hears that the ancient conceptions of Mesopotamia had also totally disappeared under the soil, while the great Brahmanical conception, strengthened rather than weakened by its sects, still numbered two hundred millions. He reads the burning lines in the "Bhágavad Gita," in which Krishna reveals to Arjuna great mysteries in majestic and harmonious verse. He ponders over the contents of the wondrous "Ramáyana," which tells of a Prince who abandoned a throne to please his father, and enable him to keep his oath; who went into the wilderness alone, except with his faithful wife, to contend against the enemies of the human race, and save mankind. He is described as pure, holy, chaste, with the great gift of self-sacrifice in the cause of duty; and year by year the great story is acted, as an undying pageant, in every large Indian town, amidst smiling and weeping crowds.

All these wonderful Sacred Books and Sacred Poems have survived the wreck of ages, and are available to us in our language, and to the educated classes of India in their languages: they are dimly known now, but in the Twentieth Century, an epoch of enlightenment, and education, Public Press, and meeting together of Natives, they will be taught in the Schools, and talked over in the market-place: it cannot be but that a new Socrates, a new Paul, a new Hypatia, will appear, and the humble and impartial observer will recognize the presence of God in all the ages, at some periods unseen,

at others only dimly seen, or seen through false intellectual lenses, but in these last days seen through His Son, when the great Plan of Universal Salvation was worked out.

The ordinary Missionary, unless he wishes to remain a dumb dog, acquires the vernacular or vulgar dialect of the people. I have often listened to sermons in the Native language, and no member of the European community equals the Missionary in command of the vernaculars, though I have, to my disgust, met dumb dogs after a residence of several years. It may be broadly stated that any language in the world can be mastered for speaking purposes, where too much grammatical rigour is not required, in twelve months. I speak from experience, and such extent of knowledge by no means indicates a scholar, but a competent Evangelist *as far as speaking goes*. But something more is required of the trained Missionary, whose ideal I have before me: he must have some fundamental idea of linguistics in general, and some detailed idea of the languages of his particular region, the characteristics of their family, the mechanism of their structure, and the written characters adopted. The Specimen-Volume published by the British and Foreign Bible-Society annually will supply that amount of knowledge, but of certain languages he must know more, and command a knowledge of indigenous literature. He may not be gifted with the art of writing, or contributing to publications, but he must be, if not a scholar himself, a scholarly man. If he is acquainted with the literary treasures of the Hindu nation, his words will carry more weight in argument. There is no lack of wisdom and holy thoughts in those Sacred Books of the Hindu, and the Hindu Sects, the Jain and the Buddhist.

Think of the crass stupid ignorance of the Keltic savage, the Briton, when Julius Cæsar, about the date of the Christian era, invaded Britain. Think of the dense fog obscuring the intellect of the noble barbarians who invaded England from Scandinavia, and the very scant knowledge of the Norman-French conquerors, and compare the state of affairs in England then with the colossal literature of the Hindu people, and their culture and knowledge, and the grandeur of their buildings; and yet the ordinary narrow-minded Missionary, fresh from his Chapel, or Conventicle, or Church, with his Shibboleth of Predestination, or Prayers for the Dead, or Ritual worship, according to the brush with which in his youth his Christianity has been tarred, talks contemptuously and insultingly of this great Nation, which by the will of the Creator has for so many centuries *lived without the possibility of being Christian*, because those who had the light, did not until this century care to carry the light to millions sitting in darkness, and thus fulfil

the Lord's parting command. The fault is imputed to the Indian which belongs properly to the European; and even when he does preach the Gospel, it is so mixed up with human, national, and occidental, accretions, that all that the Hindu wants, "Let us see Christ and hear His words," is forgotten amidst the confusion of forms, and ceremonies, and days and weeks, and white surplices and black gowns, and the essence of the Message is lost or obscured.

Another branch of knowledge, to which I would invite the attention of the selected Missionary, is the study of the customs of the people. As it is now, it is a case of "Damnan, quod non intelligunt." Such ancient institutions as Caste, Polygamy, marriage in childhood, and others, which shock the narrow-minded denizen of a Scotch or English market-town, are not without a cause for their existence and some compensatory advantage; at any rate, the Hebrews, who are considered the pattern of all excellence, practised all three, in addition to to circumcision, than which, as a test of Religion, nothing can be more degrading. Our special good fortune is, that in the Religion of Christ we have the perfection of all wisdom, suitable to every time, every clime, every degree of human culture, and every bad custom insensibly disappears under its influence.

A fuller knowledge of the ancient religions of the world; as illustrated by their Sacred Books, to those who study them deeply, will be the opening of a new world: it is only the grossly ignorant who stoop to abuse. Plato, and Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Hindu Sages, were men of exalted intellect, to whom all subsequent ages bow with respect: they would have rejoiced to see the fulness of time, if they had been permitted, but they were forerunners in point of time of the great *Λόγος*, and, when carefully studied, many of their sentiments gave evidence of pure holy thought, on the human side at least.

It is of no use denying it, that systematic intolerance, and merciless persecution, were the outcomes of the Christian religion, as it settled itself in the Roman Empire, with the establishment of sacerdotalism. The old Greco-Roman superstition, the conceptions of Buddha, of Zoroaster, and the Hindu, were free from it; if left alone themselves, they would leave others alone. Islam followed the example of Roman Christianity, and even now there is always a danger of good, pious people, who are *quite sure, that they are in the right, and all the rest of the world wrong*, using the arm of the Flesh to carry out their own views. The highly instructed Missionary, who has followed the course of history, and understands the problem of the relation of the Soul to God, will see the folly and wickedness of such a policy.

Besides, the great Creator tolerated the existence of these gross substitutes for true religion for centuries. By a mere expression of His Will He might have destroyed the Nations, or breathed into their souls a right judgment in the manner of His worship. But in His infinite longsuffering He waited until the appointed time came. Are we to be less merciful than God? Let us tarry the Lord's leisure, and ponder His unfathomable Wisdom in our hearts. He would that all men should know Him; let us at least do our duty, which is quite clear; now is our appointed time. *Sursum corda!* We have to consider the great mystery. The law given by Moses failed to retain the hearts of even the Hebrews, who never attempted to seek out the great races lying in darkness since the Creation of mankind, and yet holy men of all times and climes have sought after God to the extent of their poor limited faculties, *and found Him not*. And later on if, led by the Holy Spirit, they dared to make a choice (*αἵρεσις*) for themselves, they were called *αἵρετικοί* and put to death as 'heretics.'

But in India there will be a problem to which we have no parallel in past ages and other countries. According to the official Census, there are between thirty and forty varieties of religious sects of the same central Christian Religion, and we may expect that, as different Tribes and Castes come under the influence of the new doctrines, there will be additional streaks of difference. While, on the one hand, one central all-inclusive body corporate is neither possible nor desirable, too great a multiplicity of sections is deplorable. Under the new phenomena of Higher and Lower Criticism there is no longer one and the same Bible to all the different sections; in fact, the views on the structure of the Bible will be an additional cause of disintegration of the Christian body. If those to whom the duty falls of conveying the new doctrines from the West, are wise, they will consider the expediency of dividing what they teach into essentials and non-essentials. The different sections will thus in general society and meetings be drawn together by the great Central Truths which all hold, and be tolerant to each other in matters of ritual, forms, and terminology, in which they differ. Among all Protestants in India this is the practice in their Missionary Congresses, and there is no open war. If individual Natives, or clans of Natives, migrate spontaneously from one section to another, for the sake of peace it must be tolerated. The secular Civil Government recognizes no State-Church.

Another subject worthy of special study by superior men is the "Future of the Church of Christ" in India, both while that country remains under British authority, and after it has passed into the Empire of Russia, or any other European or Asiatic

potentate, or after the Peninsula of India, now consolidated as one Nation, has been broken up in separate kingdoms. Hitherto we have treated India as a kind of appanage of the Protestant Churches of England: if such policy is continued, the Christian Church will pass away with the possible disappearance of the British Empire. The Christian Churches of Western Asia and North Africa have lasted on, with their lamp still burning, under every kind of mundane control, the Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Abyssinian, Koptic, etc. The only chance of survival is a religious independence, which must be introduced gradually: the subsidies from Europe must cease, and the Occidental vestments, forms of prayer, ritual, etc., give way to the Oriental.

No such problem has history recorded as that which lies before the Christian Church in British India, Further and Nearer, and Ceylon. The religions of the ancient world, Egyptian, Assyrian, quite disappeared with the races which had devised them and believed in them. The beautiful Greco-Roman Idea could not live up to the advance of the human intellect, so it was played out, and there was no younger race to pick up the great truths concealed in the false surroundings, and give them new life.

The Buddhist religious conception sprang out of the decadence of the Brahmanical conception, and gave out the first Idea of a universal conception, which all mankind could embrace, and were invited by Missionaries to do so. This was something very different from the Non-Aryan races of India passing gradually into lower castes of their Aryan Brahmanical neighbours. The Buddhist conception, like its predecessor the Brahmanical, knew nothing of the curse of intolerance, persecution, and the arm of the Flesh. In the fulness of God's time came the universal conception of Christianity: Universal but in its early centuries most intolerant. We have now before us in British India a new conjunction of circumstances: a strong Civil Government; absolute tolerance; forward march of education and culture; contact with other nations; increasing population; spread of manufactures and commerce. So much for things of this world. Add to this that it has pleased the Lord, after eighteen centuries of disobedience and torpor, to arouse in the hearts of the great races in the extreme West a sense of their duty, their paramount duty, to carry the Gospel of Christ to Oriental nations, and has given them power, physical and spiritual, to discharge that duty.

The superior class of Missionaries whom I desire to call into existence, must consider this problem and the best methods of solving it. My own generation, into whose hands the task of the administration, Civil and Military, of these vast populations

has fallen, have thought out one problem, and have conceived and put into practice during the Nineteenth Century methods of ruling great Provinces kindly yet firmly, "with the iron hand in the velvet glove," and have achieved a success unparalleled in the annals of any previous Century. What is required of the master mind of the new Missionary is to dip into the future, and think out the problem of Christ's Church during Twentieth Century. If the army of Christ has been enlarged, the army of Anti-Christ has come into existence, and has to be dealt with. Civilization and education without Christ is not a blessing, but a curse. The Civil Power stands aside, and rightly so, for Christ's Kingdom is not of this world : it keeps the lists open, gives a fair field to all comers, and shows no favour or prejudice.

And the agents in this Holy War must make a covenant with their souls to abstain from proud thoughts of the superiority of the ordinary white man to the Indians moving in the same rank of life as themselves, and to abstain from abuse. It is as unjust to form an idea of the religion of a great nation from the sentiments expressed by the lowest classes of the rural population, or the scum of the great cities, as it would be for a Japanese to describe the Christianity of London from the idea formed of it in Whitechapel, or the East India Docks.

Religion has to do :

- I. With the Intellect, in the way of Ideas conceived and expressed on secular subjects.
- II. With the Heart, in the way of sentiments of Love towards the Creator and his fellow-creatures, and emotions of Gratitude.
- III. With the Soul, in the way of thought, word, and deed, according to an unwritten Code called Morality.

I have lived months and years alone amidst my non-Christian Indian subjects and recognize their sterling merits, their great intellectual capacity, their gentle and polished manners, and sense of morality.

And there is one qualification of all Missionaries, as of all public servants of the State, Civil and Military, which is indispensable up to the age of thirty, and longer if possible : this is celibacy. The present state of affairs is scandalous : the Missionary in his youth, with a large family of children, who ought never to have been born, and a burden on the funds of the Parent Society—and I could say further, but forbear : it is not the unmarried Missionaries who have caused a scandal in certain Missions, but young widowers. Let them read what the Apostle Paul tells them.

We have to thank the late Archbishop of Canterbury for the phrase and idea of the "Philosophy of Missions." It is not sufficient to obtain a general knowledge of the round of work in the Mission field, but a real knowledge of the principles which underly the great spiritual movement which derives its motive-power from the Holy Spirit. There is admitted to be a philosophy in History, but the great spiritual movement of the Nineteenth Century is, indeed, a great, the greatest of philosophies. It comprehends the science of conveying an exalted form of religion by the use of language, and discusses the methods, points out the stumbling-blocks, shows the reason why, rebuts the objections and builds up experience and wisdom on the foundation both of past success and past failures. The ordinary Missionary has it not, any more than the Regimental subaltern has the power of the great strategist and tactician, and it is no discredit to him not to have it, for he has other gifts; but the selected men who are brought under notice in this essay, form the Staff-Corps, as it may be called, and their services are required to direct the movement of the Twentieth Century. The Gospel-Message, as delivered by Christ, was intended for all climes, all times, all degrees of human culture, and must not be presented to an Oriental community in all the unknown, misunderstood paraphernalia of an Occidental Church.

Now suppose that the Light which, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Tiberius, lightened the Gentiles in Galilee, and commenced a new era in the history of mankind, had spread Eastward, as it might have been expected to do, among the Semitic races of Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and the Far East, while the Aryan races, Kelts, Teutons, Slavs, and Greco-Roman, had grown up into their present high state of culture under the old forms of religious conceptions, when suddenly, after the lapse of eighteen Centuries, it occurred to some good pious souls in India, or China, or Japan, to send Christian Missionaries to convert those desperate Heathen who occupied Europe and North America. Well and good! their purpose was laudable, and, if we had been left without Christ, grateful we should have been to hear the Gospel-Message, and ready to form ourselves into religious communities; but why should the Chinese Missionary force upon us a pigtail form of Christianity, or the Indian make caste and abstinence from certain foods an essential feature of a devout life? Why not give us the real thing, as described in the pages of the New Testament, which they would have translated into our barbarous dialects, and presented to our wondering eyes? Recognizing the new Gospel as purely spiritual, we should be glad to make it part

and parcel of our National civilization, customs, and ideas : it was intended for all nations, in every stage of culture and progress.

The late Bishop of Japan, at a meeting in London of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel, laid down distinctly that there were only four things which the young Church of Japan could share with the Church of England :

- I. The Doctrine of the Trinity.
- II. The two Sacraments.
- III. The Inspiration of the Scriptures.
- IV. Episcopacy.

Perhaps this last may be withdrawn. I am an Episcopalian, and from my knowledge of Oriental Countries believe that nothing of a republican form will work there, and that a chief shepherd is a necessity of good administration Ecclesiastic, as a Governor is of good administration Civil ; yet I cannot place the institution of Bishops, leastways Prelates, among the necessities of the Christian Dispensation. At any rate, the concession made by the late Bishop marks the era of a new departure. If Episcopacy be retained, they must be Native Bishops ; but what will follow ? I am about to tread on delicate ground.

It is not the Church with the longest pedigree of high-sounding names, and self-asserting Priests, but the Church with the purest record, which will produce the true wheat, fit to be scattered in the wide fields of the world. Churches of the far West, look to your own history in past ages, and your present state in the end of the Nineteenth Century. It is the stain of Judaism, Paganism, and Mediæval blindness, which still clings to the Churches of Europe and North America, and renders them uncongenial to Oriental races. Let them keep these customs in their own Churches if they like, say the Japanese, but why force them on us, as if they were Bible-Truths and applied to all times and climes, as part and parcel of the Christian Dispensation, which came to the human race in an Oriental garb in simplicity and purity, as evidenced by the pages of the New Testament. We must in very deed clear our ship of its superfluities before we can expect a welcome in the Extreme Orient. What will these awakening Races say of observances of Days and Weeks, peremptorily forbidden in Scripture, but still inculcated ; names and appellations which mean nothing, but which are still made much of ; Sabbaths, not made for man, but man for the Sabbath ; abstention from God's good gifts, instead of temperate use of them ; bloody banners suspended in Churches as records of carnage by Christian men ; thanks rendered to God for wholesale annexation of the country of another people, and bloody victories ;

lust of money and profitable commerce enforced at the mouth of the cannon; and at the same time the doctrines of Christ preached by Missionaries, Love, Peace, Forgiveness of Enemies, content, with a little, etc. What can the Oriental races, with the New Testament in their hands, think of the Christians of Europe?

I heard a Missionary, on his return home from the field, give an account of his work to his Parent Society: nothing but charges of ignorance, and abuse of the notions of the poor races in a low state of culture. I could not help thinking that such an actual state of Godless ignorance, in which the great Creator had for His own wise purposes left these His poor barbarian children, was better than the state of pretentious knowledge of races in a higher round of culture. The relation of the soul of man to God should be thought of with pity and respect: these poor people could not help being what they were. In the Sacred Books of the Non-Christian World, which are now accessible to all who care to read them, we meet with conceptions of God, His Greatness, Goodness, Holiness, Wisdom, and Power, in words which might be appropriated by a Christian Teacher. We find expressions of Faith (Bhakti), Penitence, and Hope, that might seem to be borrowed from Christian works. We come upon teaching with regard to life and duty which may be equalled, but not surpassed. And why? "Every good gift, every perfect gift, is from on High." The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters: He suffered their ignorance for a season, but He sent men like Plato, called by Augustine of Hippo the "Apostle of the Gentiles," Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and the Hindu Sages, and permitted their words to escape destruction, and survive to our age. He did not leave himself throughout the ages without a witness.

Can the Hindu at any stage of his intellectual existence get rid of the two ideas, which seem to underly his belief in anything: 'Máya' and 'Metempsychosis'? By the one all things in this world are a mere deception to the eye, and non-existent. By the other the soul passes on after death from one body to another, adding to, or reducing, the sum of its Karma. Will not the Hindu be tempted to introduce into his view of Christianity some of the great national facts of his own History, and assimilate them, such as the Avatára of human beings, incarnations of God sent to benefit mankind, and the succession of Triads or Trinities in the Brahmanical Pantheon. As an instance of this tendency, I have a very learned lecture on my table written by a dear departed Hindu Christian friend, in which he maintains that the story of Prajapati is a type of the Mediatorial Sacrifice of Christ. All European Christians will

of course resent, and decline to accept, such analogies. To them Jesus Christ is the completion and fulfilment of the Mosaic Law. No early Christians would have presumed to quote a Story of Osiris in Egyptian Mythology as an analogue or type of Christ's mediatorial work, though there is an obvious resemblance.

Is there not a corresponding danger on the other side. It cannot be expected that the great nations of Eastern Asia will condescend to bow to the extremely minute tribe of the Hebrews, who were a mere drop in the broad river of Asiatic nations, which the Western Nations have somehow or other contrived to make the basis of their Religion. To the Hebrew mankind owes nothing in the way of Art, or science, or culture : its only claim is the Old Testament, and the fact that Jesus Christ was born of a Hebrew Virgin. Then, again, they will admit, if they pretend to be Christians in more than name, the inspiration of the writers of the Old and New Testaments, the impregnable foundations of our Faith, but will not their belief end there? They will read that imperfectly instructed Priests of Christianity laid down, in the third century after Christ, certain doctrines of the most important character, not without opposition of a minority, but with some show of force of the arm of the flesh on the part of the majority. They must feel, as all feel, that in the course of ages the human intellect grows clearer and human ideas grow wider. We have given to the Hindu physical science, based upon actual proof, with one hand, and with the other, dogma, the decision of men, who believed that the sun went round the earth, which was a dead flat. The philosophy of ecclesiastics has from time immemorial been at war with the actual proofs of the scientist.

While, on the one hand, it is exceedingly unwise on the part of Europeans to introduce the forms of Western architecture into the places of worship of the Indian Churches, as being too expensive, and unsuited to the climate, it would be deplorable to see the Hindu Temple, or Mahometan Mosque, turned into a place of Christian worship, but inevitable. But above all things, the introduction of ecclesiastical ornaments, pictures, and statuary, are to be deprecated, as also vestments of the Ministers. An Oxford Professor lately visited India, and in a Roman Catholic Chapel was shown a statue of the Virgin and Child, by a Native Artist, the execution of which was worthy of commendation. In the adjoining street he found the same statue erected to represent Devaki and Krishna in a Hindu Temple. Then, again, the vain repetition in the order of Service in some Christian Churches, and the musical performances, are equalled, if not parodied, in the places of non-

Christian Worship. In matters connected with Religion, good and wise men seem to lose all sense of propriety, and do and tolerate things in matters ecclesiastical which their common-sense would reject as impossible in the affairs of ordinary life. There is extreme danger in such practices in a great country like India, in the period of its passing through a great change of opinion upon important subjects.

The selection of portions of the Old Testament to be read in places of worship, and the teaching of the same in Schools, is a subject, which has been brought to notice by a great and respected religious organ, *The Guardian*, and the contribution printed is from the pen of the Head Master of a great English School. Now if this subject is of importance in England, how much more must it be in India? All who think at all, must feel the difficulty, especially those who have to give instruction in the Old Testament. Is it wise or prudent to ignore all that physical science, and knowledge of history, geography, and archæology, have done for the interpretation of the Scriptures? A Chinaman lately in the Bible House in London protested against the circulation among his countrymen of such stories as that of Lot and his daughters. Is not the time come to circulate among Natives or Oriental countries selections from the Old Testament, and never to read aloud in places of public worship such narratives as decent people could not with propriety read aloud in their own family circles?

I have discharged my task, and placed on paper the results of the experience of more than half a century. Supporters of Missions have been in the Nineteenth Century content with a surface-knowledge of the difficulties of the great enterprise: they have not thought out the problem of the introduction of the Christian religion among the great nations of the East, and have been totally ignorant of the great religions of the Ancient World. It is not so now. I address those whose work lies before them in the Twentieth Century, who will have to deal with Native Churches of several denominations, not with individuals converted from non-Christian religious conceptions.

It has always been a delight to me to make myself acquainted with the mode in which God is worshipped by His poor creatures, and by reading and study to find out the nature of the relation of the souls of particular tribes and nations to their great Creator. I have a firm belief that there is nothing better in itself than Christianity, and that in the end it must triumph, not by the arm of the flesh, but by its own superior suitabilities to the wants of mankind. It is not the merits of any particular section of Christianity that we are discussing, but of the great central doctrines promulgated in Palestine.

in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, as recorded in the New Testament. I have often discussed the subject with valued friends of the different Churches of Europe and North America, whether Greek, Romish, Protestant, or Members of the smaller Asiatic and North African Churches; and have had ample opportunities of interesting conversation with Mahometans, Parsis, Hindus, and Buddhists. With the Chinese and Japanese I have not come into contact: my knowledge of them depends on books alone. But I have had the privilege also of intimate acquaintance with holy native converts in India and Africa, not always wise in things of this world, and have heard their opinion of the great problem upon which I have here attempted feebly to dwell.

ROBERT N. CUST.

LONDON, *March* 15, 1900.

ART. XII.—THE BANTS OF THE TULU NAD.

TEL sol, tel produit. This has long since been established as a scientific truth. Not only observation, but experiments conducted in various countries, have conclusively shown that biological development is inseparable from geological development, and that the conditions of soil, climate, scenery and situation play a most important part in the physical, moral and intellectual evolution or deterioration of human races. Take the case of China. Has it not been demonstrated that south of Peking, where the soil has undergone its latest elaboration, the best type of the Mongol is met with, while in the northern parts of that immobile empire, where the soil was formed at an earlier epoch, the physical characteristics of the people are more allied to those of monkeys than of men? And in India itself, go where you will, is not abundant evidence existing to show that, while the jungle and hill tribes who inhabit the primitive marshy and miasmatic regions, are scarcely distinguishable from the lower animals, on the other hand, in the same latitudes, where the soil is of modern formation, and where Nature has been lavish of her gifts, the people are superior not only in limb and colour, but even in civilisation, arts, language and general characteristics. I have often noted with deep interest how this law of co-ordinate geological and biological development has operated to produce, in certain physically favoured regions in Southern India, Dravidian races of a type so well developed as to offer some apparent justification for the pretensions to Aryan ancestry seriously urged by modern members of these races, who tell you, without moving a muscle, that their first ancestors, by some long-forgotten series of adventitious circumstances, came over the snow-clad Himalayas, and, pressing further south and breaking away from the main Aryan stream, came to settle down permanently in the midst of South Indian aboriginals, forfeiting thereby the proofs of their exalted pedigree. I have met such pretenders among the Nairs, the comely people who dwell in the historic wave-fringed, palm-shaded country of Kerala, represented, as I have remarked in a previous paper, by the British district of Malabar and the Native States of Cochin and Travancore. I have also met with them among the Bants who are at the present day limited to what was once known as the Tulu Nád and now comprises the districts of North and South Canara, the former being a portion of the Bombay Presidency and the latter of the Madras Presidency.

At a remote period in history, the Nairs and the Bants formed practically one great military guild or organisation, the baronial clans of a kingdom that, for all practical purposes, was a republic—a democracy in which the ruler lived for the people and by the people's sufferance. Although the story of how Parasurama, by casting his wand into the sea, recovered the littoral strip of beautiful country lying between Gokarnam on the north and Cape Comorin on the south may be only a fanciful myth, there is certainly enough of internal and circumstantial evidence to bring to the bar of history for the purpose of showing that the great colonist and pioneer fetched his settlers from the banks of the Kistna and founded a new home for them in the Tulu country, which, as routes went in those days, was far easier of success than the more southerly parts of the miraculously-recovered littoral. Later generations of these settlers naturally crossed over to Malabar, afterwards felicitously called "the land of the mountains and the waves."

The Malabar Nair chieftain of old had his *Nád*, or barony, and his own military clan; and the relics of this powerful feudal system still survive in the names of some of the taluks of modern Malabar, and in the official designations of certain Nair families, whose men still come out with quaint-looking swords and shields to guard the person of the Zamorin on the occasion of the rice-throwing ceremony which formally constitutes him the ruler of the land. Correspondingly, the Bants of the northern parts of Canara still answer to the territorial name of *Nád Bants*, or warriors of the *Nád*, or territory. It is necessary to explain that, in both ancient Keralam and Tulu, the functions of the great military and dominant classes were so distributed that only certain clans were bound to render military service to the ruling Prince. The rest were lairds or squires, or gentleman farmers, or the labourers and artisans of their particular community, though all of them cultivated a love of manly pursuits.

At the present day, the Bants of Canara, like their brethren of Malabar, are largely the independent and influential landed gentry, some would say, perhaps, the substantial yeomanry, of their respective districts; but whatever in the way of racial emasculation centuries of peace have been able to do in other countries and among other peoples, it is decidedly noteworthy that the Bants still retain their independence of character, their strong and well developed physique, and they still carry their heads with the same haughty toss as their forefathers did in the stirring, fighting times when, as an old proverb had it, "the slain rested in the yard of the slayer," and when every warrior constantly carried

his sword and shield, and vendettas, which passed on from generation to generation and were more cruel than those of Italy or Afghanistan, were the order of the day.

Both men and women of the Bant community are among the comeliest of Asiatic races, the men having high foreheads, well-turned aquiline noses and a general shape of head and face which may with much reason be likened to the Caucasian cast of features. The women are of shapely proportions, symmetrical of limb and feature, supple of waist, the matrons generally showing a tendency to what can only correctly be described by the French expression *embonpoint*, for although in Byron's phrase, we certainly have the thing in English, there is no name for it in our peculiar and conglomerate tongue. The Bant women have lovely dark eyes, beautifully pencilled eye brows, the low, narrow forehead, which the ancient *Maestros* loved to give to their pictures of fair and beautiful women, and a wealth of soft, glossy raven hair, that in many cases hangs down almost to the knee, in showers of "rippled ringlets." They bestow the greatest care upon it, with the happy result that age takes a long time to tell upon its glossy hue. In colour, these women are of that soft non-descript tint which has sometimes been erroneously described as lemon-coloured. The shapely Grecian foot, with its slightly arched instep, its second toe longer than any of the others, and the slight hollow on either side above the heel, are common among these Bant beauties. It is the foot, in fact, over which Sir George Birdwood, one of the greatest western exponents of Indian art, is so apt to go into raptures.

There should be no cause for wonder, in the light of the parallelism between biological and geological development to which I have already drawn attention, that the Bants should be physically so well favoured, for they dwell in a highly fertile region, amidst cool, shady groves, and, what is no less important, in roomy houses which are always kept scrupulously clean. Men, women and children religiously preserve their cleanliness of person and reap, in the shape of health and longevity, the fruits of their adherence to the simple and inexorable laws of hygiene. In fact, water is so frequently essential to every ceremony, that these interesting people would find themselves almost helpless in a country where there were fewer streams, tanks and wells than in Canara.

The houses of the well-to-do are, as a rule, roomy and well-built and thatched with palm, which keeps them cool even in the hottest weather. They are generally prettily situated, with beautiful scenic prospects stretching away on all sides. The woodwork is often richly and artistically carved.

Canara with its great mountain forests, yielding an abundance of ivory and a wealth and variety of timbers that readily adapt themselves to the most delicate needs of the carver, was at one time the home of the most deft, skilful and artistic wood-carvers, whose descendents, in all probability, are the Guddigars, who at the present day are found scattered in Goa, Honavar, Mysore and some other tracts of South-Western India. These hereditary carvers, I may note parenthetically, had a *shastram*, or science, of their own, which, with wonderful exactitude and nicety and the keenest botanical knowledge, defined and described the various kinds of wood suitable for rough or delicate carving, the age, season, locality, in which these woods ought to be felled, those species which require to be used alone, those that would answer when used conjointly with other varieties, etc.

The art is practically lost, but the traces of it that still remain are sufficient to indicate that a great degree of civilisation must have been attained by these children of the old, eastern world, centuries before the impact of the Occident with the Orient.

Originally, the Bants, like other South Indian Dravidian races, were undoubtedly followers of that form of demonology which is still so very much alive all over the Peninsula, notwithstanding the influence of Brahminism, perhaps, from one point of view, in consequence of the exclusive spirit of Brahminism. To-day the community is divided into demon-worshipping Hindus and Jains of the sky-clad denomination, but, as among the Nairs and Tizyas of the neighbouring district, demonolatry and the belief in *Bhūtas* still exercise considerable sway.

The system of inheritance is known as *Āliya-Santana*, or sister's son's lineage. Obviously, this system of metronymy, like the *marumakkatayam* or matriarchal inheritance law of Malabar, originated in the ancient feudal conditions under which the men had to be constantly separated from their womenkind, in order to be fighting the wars of their prince, leaving the door thus open for unchastity to enter, which could only result in doubt as to the paternity of offspring. Moreover, as in ancient Athens and Etrusca, maternity was a more potent force than paternity, and it was appropriately acknowledged that the sister's son had a greater right than the wife's son to succeed to a man's estate. In fact, this view was entertained by the late Mr. Justice Muthuswami Iyer of the Madras High Court, who, in tracing the origin of the *marumakkatayam* law of Malabar, wrote that "comparative ancient history suggests that the social system was probably organised at a time when relationship was derived from the mother, and

when a child did not know its father and the father his child, or at all events when paternity was regarded as uncertain." That was, it is needless to say, at a very early stage in the history of family relations, at a time, in fact, when society rested on a foundation similar to that which held up the social fabric in the palmiest, and most heroic days of the Hellenic republic. But, on the other hand, there are authorities who offer the theory that the system of *Aliya-Santana* could not have been introduced into the district earlier than about the thirteenth century. Be this as it may, the Bants still have a fanciful tradition to the effect that their law of inheritance was introduced about the year 77 A. D. by a despotic prince, called Bhutal Pandya, until whose time *Makkala Santana*, or inheritance from father to son, generally obtained in the country. It is said that the maternal uncle of this prince, called Deva Pandya, wanted to launch his newly-constructed ships with valuable cargo in them when, Kundodara, king of demons, demanded a human sacrifice. Deva Pandya asked his wife's permission to offer one of his sons, but she refused, while his sister Satyavati offered her son, Jaya Pandya, for the purpose. Kundodara, discovering in the child signs of future greatness, waived the sacrifice and permitted the ships to sail. He then took the child, restored to him his father's kingdom of Jayantika and gave him the name of Bhutal Pandya. Subsequently, when some of the ships brought immense wealth, the demon again appeared and demanded of Deva Pandya another human sacrifice. On the latter again consulting his wife, she refused to comply with the request and publicly renounced her title and that of her children to the valuable property brought in the ships. Kundodara then demanded the Deva Pandya to disinherit his sons of the wealth which had been brought in those ships, as also of the kingdom, and to bestow all on his sister's son, the abovenamed Joya Pandya, or Bhutal Pandya. This was accordingly done. And, as this prince inherited his kingdom from his maternal uncle and not from his father, he ruled that his own example should be followed by his subjects and it was thus that the *Aliya Santana* Law was established on the 3rd Magha Sudha of the year 1 of the era of Shalivahana, called Ishwara, about A. D. 77.

The Bants are split up into nearly twenty sub-divisions, and king-caste is still a despotic ruler in their midst, though Mammon asserts his influence also. For instance, whereas the Bants are admittedly Sudras, there is a wealthy and influential section known as the Ballals, who wear the Brahminical thread, and in certain other respects, notably as regards abstinence from animal food, live very much like the twice-

born, and claim to be socially superior to the common Bant. An appreciable number of the community belong to the Jain denomination, apparently having been influenced by some mediæval wave of conquest or of peaceful immigration, and will not touch a morsel of food after sunset, being also strict vegetarians. The divisions known as Pattams and Heggades, who also wear the sacred thread, follow the hereditary profession of temple functionaries and keepers of the demon shrines that are dotted all over the picturesque district. Time was when these functionaries wielded the enormous powers and influence that have always been associated with temple service in a priest-ridden country like India.

The Bants have two distinct forms of marriage, and both are of such a nature that they save the chief social institution of the community from the charge of being nothing more than a fugitive connection, a *liaison* so capricious and elastic as not to deserve the definition of a sacramental and binding institution. The union between a bachelor and a spinster is known as *Kai-dhare*, that between a widower and a widow as *Budu-dhare*. The parents of the contracting parties having through the kindly intervention of mutual friends arranged a marriage, a day is fixed upon for the formal betrothal. On the appointed day the relatives and friends of the bridegroom go in procession to the residence of the bride's parents, where they meet the relatives and friends of the latter and take part in a sumptuous entertainment. After the banquet the elders of both families formally declare their intention of celebrating the marriage, whereupon plates of betel and nut are exchanged, and the betel and nut are partaken of by both parties. On the marriage day, the interesting ceremonial begins with the bridegroom taking his seat under a specially-constructed and decorated pandal, where he submits to being operated upon by a tonsorial artist. He is next taken to the well and bathed with much pomp and show. The bath over, bride and bridegroom are conducted by a large party to the pandal. They walk thrice round the seats that have been prepared for them, and then sit down. One of the elders steps forward, takes the bride's right hand and places it upon the right hand of the bridegroom. A silver goblet containing water and covered with a cocoanut, on the top of which are some flowers of the areca palm, is placed on the united hands. The leading witnesses present all touch the goblet, which with the united hands of the now blushing couple is then waved up and down thrice. This pretty, if strange, ritual completes the ceremony and makes the Bant youth and maiden one. The relatives and friends press for-

ward and the young couple are deluged with congratulations and with the frequent expression of the wish that they may become the parents of twelve boys and twelve girls, truly a liberal idea of the Psalmist's quiverful. The excitement over, one of the elder ladies of the house pitches out two plates, one being empty, the other containing rice. The guests forthwith scramble for the rite which they throw for luck over the married pair. Into the empty plate, each guest drops a little money-present. The bridegroom after this makes his own money-present to the bride. In the event of a divorce, owing to the infidelity of the wife, this money has to be returned to the injured husband. The bride, subsequent to the marriage, is taken to her husband's home, where she has to formally serve him with food in token of being his slave and helpmate. She receives another present from him and the consummation of the marriage may then take place.

Among the Bants of certain clans the chief feature of the ceremony consists in water being poured from a height on to the united hands of the contracting couple. In fact, this is said to have been the common form of marriage in olden days. Bant marriages are exogamous to the extent that between certain allied intertribal clans, or *Ballis*, unions are prohibited. Should the husband be in a better position than the wife, the latter takes up her abode with the former's family, but in the event of the wife's family holding a better position in society the wife continues to stay in her own ancestral home. The Bants are generally in favour of monogamy, but, as with the Burman, the slightest possible restraint is placed upon divorce, and the popular American plea of incompatibility of temper finds favour in Bant land. Widow marriage is generally limited to young women who have had no children, and, as a general rule, widows find husbands among widowers. The marriage ceremony merely consists in joining the hands of the couple with the strange detail of a screen being placed between the parties.

The Bants practice cremation of the dead. Funeral obsequies are performed with much pomp and ceremony on the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth days, when people are fed. Of late years a custom has sprung up among the Jain Bants of distributing cocoanuts on the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day after the death. Once a year, a feast corresponding to the Christian All Souls is celebrated, when the spirits of deceased ancestors are propitiated. The festival is held in October. In this respect the Bants merely resemble the rest of non-Brahmin Dravidians of the West Coast who have so rigidly and jealously preserved their ancient forms and doctrines of demonolatry.

Buffalo racing, cock fighting and native football are among the outdoor pastimes which are popular with the Bants. The outsider cannot fail to be struck with the tremendous excitement that attends a village fair in South Canara. Large numbers of cocks are laid out for sale, and groups of excited people may be seen huddled together, bending down with intense eagerness to watch every detail in the progress of a combat between two celebrated village game cocks. I doubt if even the happy-go-lucky Burman, or superstitious and excitable Malay, takes such an absorbing interest in this cruel pastime, as the Bant does, though it is superfluous to say that the Jain Bants, true to the religious principles which they have imbibed, view a cock fight with abomination. In the more southerly district of Malabar, the warrior Nair, once the most conservative of Indian communities, now displays a remarkable aptitude for civilising forces and influences which are distinctly fatal to the perpetuation of his primitive social laws and regulations. Similarly, the growing contact of Canara with outside forces is already resulting in material changes being introduced into the social and political fabric. And in view of the manner in which these changes are working, I see some reason to hope that the Bants also will shake off the lethargy which has grown on them, and make the most of the great Indian transition of the closing years of this present century. Of course, owing to its more isolated situation, social, political, and educational reform in Canara has been proportionately very much below that which has been carried out in the less isolated district of Malabar; and the Bant yeoman and gentleman farmer have not yet taken to any appreciable extent to western education. The number of Bants in the public service is exceedingly limited and it must be attributed to the *otium cum dignitate* which, in Canara as elsewhere, has always been associated with the profession of agriculture. However, western civilization is a most solvent and insinuating force, and as it creeps up his country, it will surely and steadily influence the conservative Bant and teach him to widen the horizon of his ambition. At present, he is still a part of the old world which the West found when she first visited her elder sister the East.

ART. XIII.—THE DOCTRINES OF JAINISM.

MOKSHA (SALVATION), MOKSHA MARAG (THE WAY TO IT) AND MOKSHA PHAL (ITS CONSEQUENCES).

I PROPOSE, in the following lines, to set forth the Jain view of *Moksha* (salvation); of the way which leads to *Moksha*; and, of the results of *Moksha*. In the first place, I shall point out what, according to Jain principles, *Moksha* is; then, the means by which it can be attained; and, in the end, the benefit which the soul derives from entering into the estate of *Moksha*.

Moksha is, briefly, the attainment of pure *Parmatum sarup*, that is, the attainment of Godhood. The means by which soul can attain to *Moksha* is the adoption of the Three Jewels, that is, right knowledge, right belief, and right conduct. And the fruit of *Moksha* is that soul, when it has entered into that condition, becomes Pure, Perfect, All-knowing, All-seeing, All-powerful and All-happy.

Now, as regards the *Parmatum sarup*, it should, in the first place, be stated that, according to Jainism, *Parmatma* has not the attribute of creating or causing death; punishing or rewarding—in brief, the attribute of *Kurta Hurta*; but is *Bīrag*, that is, devoid of love or hatred, and has no concern with or desire to do anything. And, as this doctrine leads people to speak of Jainism as teaching atheism, it is advisable that, before proceeding to deal with the principal subject, I should clear away this misunderstanding.

First, then, I venture to say that it is a gross mistake to include Jainism under atheism. Atheists are those who do not believe in the existence of *Parmatama* (God), whilst Jains believe in His existence, without, of course, ascribing the attributes of *Kurta Hurta* to Him. Now not to ascribe a particular attribute to a thing is not the same as to disbelieve in the existence of that thing. Besides this, those who believe in the existence of soul, must necessarily believe in that of God, because the final goal of soul must be in Him; while, on the other hand, atheists do not generally believe even in the existence of soul. Thus it is highly improper and illogical to call Jainism an atheistic system.

In order to put the point in a clearer light, I shall, in the following lines, try to show that belief in the existence of God as *Kurta Hurta* involves many contradictions and objections; imputes several defects and imperfections to God, and contributes but little to the virtuous conduct of man and his salvation.

Those who hold God to be Kurta Hurta are chiefly divided into two classes: (1) Those who regard three things as eternal principles, namely, God, souls and matter, and say that out of the latter two, God makes the world. (2) Those who hold God only to be an eternal principle. This latter class is again divided into two sub-sections: those who believe that God has created the world out of nothing, and those who hold that He has created the world out of Himself.

With reference to the first-class, who believe that, besides a Pure and Perfect Isvara, other souls and matter also are eternal, it may be remarked, that, if they hold souls and matter to be eternal, they should hold their attributes and conditions also to be eternal, because no being can exist without its attributes and conditions. If there is an entity, it must have some attributes and conditions to constitute it; and, if souls and matter, with their attributes and conditions, are eternal entities, they are, by their mutual interaction, quite sufficient to make the world, and there remains no need of any interference on behalf of Isvara.

Again, if Isvara is Perfect and All-happy, why should he have created the world? Creation requires action on His part, and no intelligent being acts without having some desire. But if He has desire, He cannot be Perfect and All-happy, because desire is an unmistakeable indication of some want in him who is affected by it and is admittedly the root of all unhappiness and disquietude. Thus, by imputing creation to God, we destroy two of His essential attributes.

It is admitted on all hands that soul, in this transmigratory state, suffers pain and distress, and that release from this state can be attained by acting on the precepts of God. Then, it may be asked, why did Isvara first put the soul into this worldly condition and then afterwards send down the Vedas for its release? Could a man who himself placed a thing in a bad condition and then framed rules for its betterment, be called wise? If it be said that God put souls into this worldly condition only to see which of them would be able to get released from it, then this shows want of knowledge on His part. If He is All-knowing, He must have known all this beforehand. Those only who have limited knowledge, stand in need of testing; but an All-knowing Being has no necessity to resort to testing. Thus the inevitable consequence of holding God to be the creator of the world, is that we are driven to impute want of wisdom and knowledge to Him, and this can be avoided only by believing that souls are in the worldly condition from eternity.

If God is perfectly Good and Pure, why do we find evil and impurity in His creation? No worldly ruler desires bad

actions to be committed in his country ; but, as worldly rulers are not all-knowing and all-powerful, they do not fully succeed in their endeavours to prevent such actions from being committed ; and, as God is All-knowing and All-powerful, no evil deeds ought to be committed in His domain and He should not even give anybody capacity or power to commit such deeds. If it be said that God gives power to do good as well as bad actions in order to see which of His creatures will be so wise as to abstain from exercising the latter power, then this shows a defect in His knowledge. An All-knowing Being, as I have already said, has no need to test ; He must have known all this from the first. Thus to attribute to God the creating of the world is to attribute to Him what is inconsistent with His goodness and purity ; and this cannot be helped unless we believe God to be Bīrag (devoid of affection or hatred).

Again, why do we find sorrow, pain, disease and poverty in God's creatures ? If it be said that they are the result of the evil deeds of those creatures themselves, then I ask why did He give power to do or permit them to do, such deeds ? Observation shows that when a father becomes aware that his son is about to commit a bad action, he tries his utmost to prevent him from committing it, although, owing to his limited knowledge and power, he may not succeed in doing so. But the heavenly Father is All-knowing and All-powerful, He ought not, in the very beginning, to have permitted such evil deeds to be committed. What would one think of a father who, seeing his son about to commit some evil deed, and although he had power to prevent him from committing it, took no action towards that end and afterwards punished him for committing it ?

Moreover, the theory of those who believe that God has created the world out of nothing is incapable of being supported by any proof or argument. Nature does not, in any way, show us that this world has come into existence out of nothing. We do not see anything come out of nothing. Everything which manifests itself, has, somehow or the other, its previous state. Nor do we find anything to pass over into nothing. Physical science sufficiently proves that something cannot come out of nothing, nor can it be reduced to nothing. But those who hold that God has created the world out of nothing, and that, in the end, it will again be reduced to nothing seem to believe that being can be converted into non-being. Now, God is also a being and upon their own theory it follows that He can also be reduced to nothing. Thus they worship a God who has the potentiality of being converted into nothing, and consequently they worship a non-being.

Again, I ask whether being and non-being are contradictory terms or not. If it be answered that they are, then they cannot be converted into each other. But if it be said that they are not, then all such things as virtue and evil, truth and untruth, purity and impurity, &c., &c., are the same, and it is useless to speak of following the path of truth and virtue.

Thus the doctrine that God has created the world out of nothing and can reduce it to nothing whenever He pleases to do so, does not stand to reason or observation, and is altogether unsupported by natural law and scientific truth.

Apart, again, from scientific proof and logical argumentation, this doctrine is repugnant to common sense, and the intuitive faculty which unconsciously dictates that being and non-being cannot be converted into one another.

With regard to the theory that God has created the world out of Himself, or, in other words, that He has Himself taken the shape of the world, it may be asked how God, who Himself is a Pure and Perfect Being, could convert Himself into this impure and imperfect world. If the nature of God is purity and perfection, how could He be converted into the very opposite of these. Either there must have been, from the very beginning, the germs of impurity and imperfection in Him, or the work of creating the world cannot be attributed to him. Moreover, we find non-intelligent things in this world, so that the further question arises, how God, who is All-intelligence, could have changed Himself into non-intelligence? Are intelligence and non-intelligence not contradictory terms? If the answer be that they are; then the world could not have come out of God, who is a pure Intelligence. But if the answer be that they are not contradictory terms, then what more is there to be said of this theory than that it makes all virtue and evil, truth and untruth, &c., &c., alike, and leaves no room for the practical operations of the world any more than for salvation. In short the phenomenon of the world can be explained only either by believing that God is both intelligence and non-intelligence, which is an absurdity, or by admitting the existence of some other entity besides God.

The advocates in India, of this theory, who are called Vedantists, hold that Brahma is a non-active, pure intelligence, and so far their view is in conformity with the Jain doctrine of *Bitragta*. But they also hold that, when Brahma associated Himself with *Maya*, He became Lower Brahma and created the world. But here the question arises whether this *Maya* is a separate entity, or an attribute of the *Sakti* (power) of Brahma? If it is a separate entity, then the theory of

there being only one eternal principle falls to the ground and they resort to dualism ; if, on the other hand, it is an attribute of Brahma, then it must always be with Him and He cannot be regarded as pure intelligence, but must have the elements of non-intelligence, impurity and imperfection in Him.

Again, it may be asked, why did Brahma associate Himself with *Maya* ? If Brahma associated Himself with *Maya* at some particular time, then there must have been some cause for it,—either He must have had some desire or motive, in which case He cannot be called a pure, perfect being, and if He of His own accord did not associate Himself with *Maya*, but the latter forcibly attached itself to Him, then He must have been in subordination to it.

Of course, the *Maya* of the Vedantists' is something like the Pudgal, of the Jains (subtle matter), but the difference only is this, that the former hold that Brahma associated Himself with *Maya* at some particular time and thus became the cause of *sansara* (the world), while the latter maintain that Jiva and Pudgal are intermingled with each other from eternity and thus are the cause of *sansara* (the world).

According to Jainism, Jiva and Brahma are, with regard to their real nature, one ; but so long as Jiva is associated with Pudgal, it is in the worldly condition, and when it becomes released from Pudgal, it becomes Brahma. And as they are intermingled from eternity, there can be no question of cause, because the question of cause can be raised only in the case of an event happening at some particular time. As soul and matter are intermingled, the latter produces in the former Rag Dwaish (love and hatred) which, having become the cause of good and bad actions, attract new matter towards soul. Matter, having given pleasures and pains to soul, becomes detached from it ; and as, through enjoyment of pleasures and suffering of pains, Rag Dwaish is produced in soul, new matter is attracted towards it. This sequence of matter and Rag Dwaish (love and hatred, including all the various passions and affections) has continued from eternity and will continue till soul has purged itself of the latter. When soul succeeds in freeing itself from Rag Dwaish, new matter ceases to be attracted towards it, and the old matter, having produced its result, which, owing to the destruction of Rag Dwaish, no longer influences soul, becomes detached, and the soul, going unto Nirvana, becomes Brahma.

The great argument which the Kurta Badees bring forward is that they find beauty, regularity, order, uniformity and skill in the world, and that this cannot be explained except by the assumption of one intelligent cause. Now, in the first place, it is not correct to say that we find only beauty, re-

gularity, etc., in the phenomena of the world. Do we not find also ugly men and ugly things in the world? Have we not sometimes rain at irregular times? If it be said that, in thus causing rain, there must be some beneficial object in God's view, then I humbly answer, that He, being All-knowing and All-powerful, could attain that object without having recourse to irregularity and without causing the slightest injury or inconvenience to His creatures. Have we not sometimes disorder by storms, volcanoes, etc.? If it be remarked that God, with some beneficial purpose on the whole, has sometimes to resort to exceptional courses, then I reply that He, being Omniscient and Omnipotent, could accomplish that beneficial purpose without the least disorder in His creation. In short, we find both beauty and ugliness, regularity and irregularity, order and disorder, unity and variety, skill and unskilfulness in nature. But even granting that only the former are found, it is a too bold assertion to say that the phenomenon of the world can be explained only by one intelligent cause. Of course, an intelligent cause plays a prominent part, but an effect composed of both intelligence and non-intelligence, can hardly be said to arise from only intelligence. They say that uniformity must result from intelligence, but a little consideration will show that this is hardly the case. Observation proves that an intelligent being can be influenced by various inclinations and desires, and is more susceptible of making change than a non-intelligent being. A non-intelligent being, on the other hand, will proceed according to its fixed nature and will continue to do so until acted upon by some other intelligent or non-intelligent cause.

This world is, according to Jainism, the effect of both intelligent and non-intelligent causes. Intelligent cause is only of one kind called *Jiva* (soul), the characteristic of which is *Gayān* (knowledge); while non-intelligent cause is of five kinds, namely, *Pudgal* (matter), *Aakash* (space), *Kal* (time), *Dharma* and *Adharma*. The characteristic of *Pudgal* is *Saparsh* (tangibility), *Ras* (taste), *Gandh* (smell), and *Barun* (colour); that of *Aakash* is to give room to, and contain, all other *Drabas*; that of *Kal* is to bring on changes; that of *Dharma* is to help *Jiva* and *Pudgal* to move; and that of *Adharma* to help them to cease to move. Thus, these six entities, with their nature, attributes, and conditions, are the cause of the world. But it is not that they have made the world at some particular time, they have been making and sustaining it from eternity. Of course, condition only changes, which causes us to speak of creation and destruction.

But cause is always of two kinds,—*Upadan Karun*, that

is material cause, and *Nimit Karun*, that is, operative cause. Here it may be said that, these six entities being only the material cause of the world, there must be some other operative cause. But the Jains deny this, and hold that, as these six entities act also upon one another, and thus become the cause of various changes, they are the material as well as the operative cause of the world.

People say that God creates, sustains, destroys and pervades the world. This seems to be something like the Satta of Jainism, which lays down that there is a subtle essence or power called Satta, underlying all the six Drabas, which is the cause of their existence and modifications. But this power is not, according to Jainism, a separate entity existing outside the six Drabas; it is a power inseparably dwelling in them. This power is not an extracosmic, individual person, creating and controlling the universe, but it is the general *Svabhava* (attribute) of all the *Drabas*. It is neither an intelligent nor a non-intelligent being, but the general essence constituting both.

Jainism does not like to call this all-pervading power, or the sum of all the powers, attributes, and effects of all the Drabas, by the name of God and worship it, because to do so would not benefit the Sansari Jivas (worldly souls) in any way. To worship, and to meditate upon, a Kurta Hurta God can neither contribute to virtuous conduct in the world, nor lead the soul to its final goal *Moksha*.

There are five great principles of virtuous conduct which are recognised by almost all religions. The first great principle is *Ahinsa*, which, briefly, means not to kill, or inflict pain or injury on, any living being; the second is *Satya*, that is truth; the third is *Astai*, that is, not to steal; the fourth is *Brahm Charya*, which means, in brief, having control over the sexual desires and not committing adultery; and the fifth is *Afrigrah* which shortly means not being addicted to sensual pleasures.

The notion of a Kurta Hurta God leads people to think that God has created all things for man's use, and that, if man does not use them, he is ungrateful to God. Hence we find that Kurta Badees (followers of the belief of God as Kurta Hurta) do not much act upon the first, fourth and the fifth of the above-mentioned principles, and the violation of these three often leads to that of the other two also. We practically see that they show little care to avoid killing living beings and generally indulge in the free use of flesh and wine.

Almost all religions agree that, for the attainment of salvation, the suppression of the passions and desires and the

severance of worldly connections are most essential, and these conditions cannot be fulfilled unless the above-mentioned five principles of virtue are first adopted. Besides, people may argue that, when God has created, and gifted them with, various passions and desires, why should they not make use of them and why should they try to suppress them? And when He has Himself sent them down into this world, why should they seek to sever their connection from it?

Thus neither virtue nor salvation can be attained by worship, and meditation upon, a Kurta Hurta God, and hence the Jains regard Him as *Bītrag*. Parmatma has, according to Jainism, infinite knowledge, infinite seeing, infinite power, infinite happiness, infinite goodness, infinite *Shudhta* (purity); and is *Bītrag*, *Nirlep* (having no cover or plaster), i.e., free from *Karamas*; unadulterated soul, only an embodiment of knowledge; *Amurteek* (bodiless); *Abyabadh* (undecidable); *Agar Laghu*, that is, neither heavy nor light, and consequently needing no throne or chair to sit on; *Avghahan* (unobstructible). He is above all the colours, all the tastes, all the smells, and all the sounds; tangibility cannot touch Him; He is free from birth and death; is *Niranjan* and *Thitanand* (having no adulteration, an All-happy Intelligence); He is free from passions and desires and consequently from matter; and is the most Exalted. He is beyond the senses; mind cannot reach Him; and is within the *Shudha Gayan* (pure knowledge) of soul.

RICKHAH DASS JAINI, B.A.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

In the *Calcutta Review* for January last we published a reply from our valued contributor, Rickah Das Jaini, to an editorial note on his explanation of certain points connected with the doctrines of Jainism which had appeared in the previous number. The note in question was to the effect that the writer had made no attempt to explain the way in which non-soul, or matter, acts upon soul, and it was remarked that this was not surprising, inasmuch as the difficulty referred to was the rock upon which every dualistic theory of the Universe necessarily split, and inasmuch as, further, Jainism was, from the nature of the case, obviously debarred from having recourse to any such facile hypothesis on the subject as that embodied in the Cartesian doctrine of "Occasional Causes," or the cognate theory of "Pre-established Harmony" of Leibnitz.

In his reply to our Note, Rickah Das Jaini claims that he had not left the point wholly untouched, though, as it relates "not to gods, but to fine, matter," what he said might be unintelli-

gible to many. He then goes on to remind us that, in his article in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1898, he had said that *draba karma* were assemblages of the atoms of matter, and that, as he had further pointed out in the explanation already mentioned, the nature of matter was to produce *Rag dwaish*, i.e., passion, and *Moh*, i.e., illusion in soul. As to the way in which matter and soul act on one another, he added: "There is an undeniable principle that, when two things having different attributes combine, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and they form a combination which is something different from either. Now the attribute of soul is its power of knowing, while that of matter is its power of attraction and repulsion. As Sansari Jiva (worldly soul) and Pudgul (matter) are in a state of bondage, matter tends to produce attraction and repulsion in Jiva, and the result is that Jiva (soul) manifests love and hatred."

Further on he says that, though soul and the atoms of matter are invisible to us, and so we cannot see their action, still we find that, as a matter of fact, "gross matter (objects surrounding us) do produce love and hatred, pleasures and pains, in us."

It must be obvious, we think, from this reply, that the writer misapprehends the real nature of the difficulty under discussion. In the first place, it is to be noted that his argument from analogy, based on the fact that, when two material things with different attributes are combined, each tends to produce its own attributes in the other, and the combination formed by them differs from either, is inapplicable to the case under consideration. For, except on the supposition that soul is merely a subtle form of matter, which is contrary to the Jainist view of its nature, we are not in a position to reason from what happens in the case of interaction between different kinds of matter to what may be expected to happen in the case of the interaction of matter and soul, which belong to wholly different categories of being.

It must, we think, be further obvious that, in bringing forward this argument from analogy, Rickah Das Jaini is confounding two distinct questions, *viz.*, the question of the effect produced by the interaction of soul and matter, and the question of the way in which the effect is produced. However that may be, and this is the point on which we wish specially to insist, for light on either of these questions, as they concern the interaction of soul and matter, we must look elsewhere than to our experience of the interaction of matter and matter.

Rickah Das Jaini does, indeed, refer us to the testimony of our consciousness, for proof of the fact of the interaction. We find, he says, that objects surrounding us do produce love and

hatred, pleasures and pains, in us. Here, however, he is plainly reasoning in a circle. If it were certain, not only that both matter and soul exist, but that the "objects surrounding us" belong to the former, and the subject, or ego, to the latter, category, then, although we should still be as far as ever from an answer as to the *how* of their interaction, we might be content with the testimony of our consciousness to the fact that they do interact, and that the result of their interaction is those affections of our consciousness which we call love, hatred, pleasures, pains and the like. But matter and soul are not given in consciousness. All that is given in consciousness is its own changes. Justifiably or not, we infer from those changes the action of a *non-ego*. But it is a long step from that inference to the conclusion that the *non-ego*, or any element of it, is matter, i.e., *non-soul*.

With reference to our observation that the difficulty as to the interaction of matter and soul is the rock on which every system of dualism splits, it may, perhaps, be replied that it is no less difficult to understand how soul can act on soul. But, while this may be admitted, it does not affect the fact that consciousness affords us no warranty for differentiating Being into two orders of entities, matter and soul.

The *non-ego*, which includes the whole sensible world, we do not know, and are for ever precluded from knowing, otherwise than *objectively*. The ego, on the other hand, we do not know, and are for ever precluded from knowing, otherwise than *subjectively*. The conditions under which alone we could compare the two do not, and cannot, consequently, exist; and, without comparing them, we are obviously not in a position to know whether they belong to different orders, or to the same order, of Being. If we could affirm, on the one hand, that the *non-ego*, or that element of it which we cognise as matter, possesses no subjective side, or, on the other hand, that the *ego* possesses no objective side, this difference in itself might conceivably warrant our placing them in two distinct and opposite categories of Being. But, from the nature of the case, we are not, and cannot be, in a position to affirm either of these propositions.

ART. XIV.—AMTHAL-UL-ARAB.

(ARAB PROVERBS IN THEIR RELATIONS TO FOLKLORE,
HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY.)

Yadhribu'llahu'l amthála lin-nasi.

God propoundeth parables unto men.—*Suratun Noor* (Light).

PROVERBS in conversation are like axioms in philosophy, maxims in law, and postulates in mathematics.

Four things are to be found in a proverb which are not to be met with in any other form of speech—(1) brevity of expression; (2) accuracy of thought; (3) beauty of comparison; and (4) quickness of wit.—*Ibraheem*.

Mr. Henry, in his commentary on the Book of Proverbs, says that the Hebrew *Mashal* מִשָּׁל, here used for a proverb, comes from a word that signifies to *rule*, or to *have dominion*, because of the commanding power and influence which wise and weighty sayings have upon the children of men; he that teacheth by them doth *dominari in concionibus*, —‘rules his auditory.’ It is easy to observe how the world is governed by proverbs. “As saith the proverb of the ancients” (1 Sam.), or as the vulgar express it, “as the old saying is,” goes very far with most men in forming their notions and fixing their resolves.

But although in Arabic also the root *m, th, l*, conveys, among other ideas, the idea of “ruling or commanding,” the Arab *savants* derive *mathal* (proverb) from another significance of the same root—“Wise sayings, the truth of which is present in thought, are called proverbs (*amthál*) because their pictures *stand* in thought; derived from *mathool*, to stand.”*

Proverb has been defined as the remnant of the philosophy of the ancients preserved from destruction by its *brevity* and *utility*. Teaching by proverbs was an ancient way of teaching. It was the most ancient way amongst the Greeks. The seven wise of men of Greece had each of them some one saying that they valued themselves upon and that made them famous.

It was a plain and easy way of teaching which cost neither the teachers nor the learners much pains, nor put their understandings or memories to the stretch. Long periods and arguments far-fetched must be laboured; while a proverb which carries both its sense and evidence in a little compass, is presently apprehended and easily retained.

Much of the wisdom of the ancients has been handed down to posterity by proverbs, and some think we may judge of

* Ibnus Sikkeet; al-Mubarrad; Ali.
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the temper and character of a nation by the complexion of its vulgar proverbs.

Indeed, the vast collection of Arab proverbs is a true mirror in which the Arab life is vividly reflected. It is in their bald and naked proverbs that we catch glimpses of their manners and customs, their mode of living and of warfare. Their proverbs breathe the freshness of the desert, and we may say with equal truth that "*Proverbs are the register of the Arabs*" — *Innal amthāla divānū'l Arab.*

Great as was the tendency, among primitive nations in days before the invention of writing, to give utterance to proverbs and pithy sayings, the Semitic mind was specially prone to do so. We have the Proverbs of Solomon and the vast collection of the Proverbs of the Arabs.

Though it is not an easy task to quote at random a large number of proverbs and to classify and arrange them in logical or chronological order, I give a few typical specimens of each class; — *ab uno disce omnes.*

The vast collection of Arabic Proverbs naturally falls into two broad divisions—moral and non-moral. By non-moral proverbs I mean those which are connected with some historical incident or personage, or throw light on the manners, customs, social life and surroundings of the Arabs, and which embody their beliefs, notions and superstitions. In other words, those which convey no moral idea, but which are not necessarily immoral. By moral proverbs I mean those which are pregnant with some deep philosophical meaning, which have some ethical purpose in view, which contain, in a crystallized form, the wisdom of the ancients, or some great truth.

I may fairly call, without being far away from the truth, the non-moral and moral proverbs as pre-Islamic and post-Islamic.

I

NON-MORAL PROVERBS.

A.—(a) Connected with some historical incident, or with the life and adventures of some hero or heroine of old.

1.—*Sahifatu'l Mutalammis.*

This phrase, which is equivalent to the classic *literæ Bello-rophantæ* had its origin in one of the most celebrated incidents of early Arab History—the treachery of Amr, King of Hira, which caused the destruction of the young poet, Tarafah, and nearly involved in the same fate Tarafah's uncle, Mutalammis. Tarafah was the most perfect type of the wild and dissolute, but gifted, poets of the Ignorance. From early youth his genius for poetry, and his license of tongue, were remarkable. One day, when he was playing with the children

of his age, his uncle, Mutalammis, was reciting a poem which described, as was common among the Arabs, the rare qualities of a camel. He said—"I mount a dark red male camel ... or else a she-camel, etc."

2.—*Kadi'stanwaka'l jamalo.*

"See the he-camel transformed into a she," exclaimed Tarafah, and the phrase became proverbial to express a sudden inelegant transition. Mutalammis, much offended, told the boy to put out his tongue. Tarafah did so; it was dark in colour, and Mutalammis said: "That black tongue will be thy ruin." When Tarafah grew up he surpassed all his contemporary poets in debauchery, and addicted himself completely to love, wine and gambling. His great poem (one of the Moallakáts) was composed on the occasion of the loss of the herd of camels belonging to himself and his brother, which was carried off by a hostile tribe while he was spending his time in pleasure. At length, thoroughly ruined, Tarafah left his kindred and, accompanied by Mutalammis, repaired to the Court of Amr 'bn Hind, King of Hira. Amr appointed them to attend on his brother, Kaboos. Kaboos was a boorish prince, and treated the two poets with great indignity. The passionate Tarafah made some satirical verses upon him. These verses were brought to the ears of Amr by Abd Amr, Tarafah's brother-in-law and a favourite of the King.

Now this Amr 'bn Hind was a most ferocious and vindictive prince. He had burnt alive ninety-nine men and one woman of the tribe of Tamim, in accordance with a vow of vengeance he had made to destroy a hundred of the race. This deed had gained for him the appellation of *al-Mubarrik*, the Burner.

3. Of the proverb,—*Inná'sh shakiya wáfidu'l Barájim*. (Ill fated is he of the Barájim; i.e., Tamim, who approaches.) He now determined to destroy both Tarafah and Mutalammis. Sending for them, he asked them if they desired to leave his Court. They answered in the affirmative; and he then told them that he would give them letters to Abu Kárib, Governor of Hajar. Taking the letter, Mutalammis and Tarafah set out. Mutalammis suspected treachery, and, as neither of the poets could read, he presented his letter to a young man on the way, and asked him what it contained. It was a request to the Governor of Hajar to put the bearer to death (cf. Hamlet). Mutalammis destroyed his letter, and implored Tarafah to fly with him into Syria. Tarafah obstinately refused, and continued his journey to Abu Kárib, who arrested him and caused him to be buried alive.

Amr ibn Hind was afterwards slain by the poet-warrior, Amr ibn Kalthoom, author of the Moallakah, in revenge for an

insult offered to his mother by Hind, the mother of Amr; whence the proverb,

4.—*Aftako min Amr t' bne Kalthoom—*

“Quicker to slay than Amr ibn Kalthoom,”

5.—*Ka nadmānay jazimata mawaddatan.*

“Like the two boon-companions of Jazimah in love and friendship.” This was Jazimatu'l Abrash, the famous king of the Arabs of Irak, and celebrated for his pride and grandeur in the popular legends. It was the custom of the Arabs to associate by threes in their feasting, so that each man had two boon-companions. But such was the pride of Jazimah that he would drink with none of mortal race, but declared that the *Farkadan* (name of a double star) alone should be his boon-companions; and to these stars cups were filled whenever the king caroused, and liquor was poured out as if they had indeed drunk. But it came to pass at last that the king's nephew, Amr ibn Adi, was lost in the *Samaweh*, or Syrian desert. This Amr was the son of Adi and Rakash, the king's sister. Adi, a youth of princely blood, was one of the king's pages, and, he and Rakash having mutually fallen in love, she persuaded him to ask the king's consent after he had been well drunken and then to consummate the marriage at once. Adi the next day found Jazimah so angry at what had passed that he sought safety in flight. Rakash gave birth to a son, whom Jazimah adopted, since he was himself childless. The boy Amr used to go out with the king's servants to gather mushrooms (Arab *Kam'at*; Persian *Samdroogh*) and it happened that, whenever the servants found fine mushrooms, they ate them and brought back only the worst kind to the king, but Amr brought back the best he could find, and one day, in presenting them, he uttered this verse:

6.—*Házá janáyá wa khayárohú fih, Iz külle jánin yadohu ilá fih.*

“This is my collection and the best of them are there,”

When the hands of all the pluckers to their mouths repair.”

These last words became proverbial. At last Amr, who was eight years old, was lost in the desert. Jazimah caused a thorough search to be made, and offered to grant the wish of anyone who would bring him news of Amr, but to no avail. At last two brothers, Malik and Okayl, sons of Farih, who were journeying to the king with presents, met a young man with his hair and nails grown long. They said to him: “Who art thou?” He said, “Son of the Tanukhi” (Jazimah reigned over the Tanukhites). The adventure which followed is not worth relating. In the end they brought him to the king who

offered them whatever reward they chose to ask. They asked that Jazimah should take them as his boon-companions as long as he lived. The king consented, and the three dwelt together for forty years until death separated them.

Amr was called Amr of the Collar, for, when he was brought back, his mother, in accordance with a vow she had taken, left on him the collar he had worn in infancy, on which Jazimah said "Amr has outgrown the collar."

7.—*Kaborá Amrun anit towke*

which became proverbial in speaking of a thing that is no longer fitting.

9.—*Le amrim ma jada'a kasirun anfahu.*

"For some purpose did Kasir cut his nose off."

10.—*Jada'a anfahu be yadihi.*

"He cut his nose off with his own hands."

11.—*Ath'aru min Kasirin.*

More revengeful than Kasir. These are three of the series of proverbs which connects itself with Jazimatu'l Abrash, Queen Zebba and Kasir.

The Kasir in question, Kasiru'bue Saad'il Lakhmi, was the freedman (*nowla*) of Jazimatu'l Abrash. When Jazimah was treacherously murdered by Lebba, Queen of al Jazirah (Mesopotamia), Kasir, in order to avenge his master's death, cut off his nose himself and sought refuge with Queen Zebba, saying that Amr ibn Adi, Jazimah's nephew, had punished him for advising Jazimah to listen to the Queen's overtures. He soon became a great favourite and the confidant of the Queen and was several times sent by her to the Irak for purposes of trade. In the last of these commercial trips he communicated with Amr ibn and, accompanied by him, returned to Mesopotamia (*al Jazirah*). Under the pretence of sending presents to the Queen, he introduced a hundred soldiers, concealed in strong boxes, into the palace. At night they threw open the lids and attacked the Queen. She tried to escape by a secret passage known only to her and to Kasir. When she found the entrance to the passage guarded by Kasir and Amr ibn Adi, she licked the poison concealed in her ring and died exclaiming—

12.—*Be yadi la be yaday ibne Adi.*

"At the hands of me, not at the hands of the son

13.—*Lailatu'l Farazdaki wa'l Halfa.*

Farazdak was a nickname which the famous satirical poet,

Hammám ibn Ghalib (better known as Farazdak), received on account of his dark complexion, the word being a corruption of the Persian *parázdeh*, which means a piece of burnt dough. He was a dissolute Moslem and gave rise to the proverb, "A night of Farazdak and Halfa," which signifies a night spent in debauchery. With other rakes, he penetrated into a Christian convent and passed the night with a nun named Halfa, drinking wine, eating pork, and dressing up in the nun's habit.

14.—*Ka fáqe-in ainayhe amda.*

"Like one who puts out his eyes deliberately."

Farazdak's adventure with his wife, Nawar, is very celebrated, but is told by different writers with certain discrepancies. Farazdak had been commissioned to ask her in marriage, but, becoming enamoured of her, he took her for himself. She afterwards forced him to divorce her, and he pronounced the necessary words in the presence of witnesses. When he found that the parting was irrevocable he exclaimed—

*Nadimto nadámata'l Kosa-ee-i lammá
Ghadat anni mutallakatan Nawárr.
Wa kduat jannati fa kharajto minhá
Ka Adamá hind akhrajahuz Dhirárr.
Fakunto ka fáqe-in ainayhe amda,
Fa asbahá ma yúdhéo lahun nahárr.*

"I repented the repentance of al-Kosa-ee when Nawár became divorced from me; she was my Paradise, and I came out of it like Adam when expelled by the Angel az-Dhirár. I am like one who puts out his own eyes deliberately. No more does the day-light shine for him."

15.—*Nadimto nadamata'l Kosa-ee.*

"I repented the repentance of al-kosa-ee." Al-kosa-ee had found a fine *nabá* tree, of which bows and arrows are made, and had fashioned a bow for himself. He took his stand in the night to shoot wild asses; he shot and pierced one, but the bow was so strong and good that the arrow went through the body, and struck on the rock behind. Al-kosa-ee, hearing the sound in the darkness, thought he had missed his aim. Another troop came by, and he shot again with the same seeming want of success. At last, after shooting five times, he broke the bow in a rage. When morning dawned, he found that five asses lay dead, pierced with his arrows. His repentance at having destroyed so excellent a bow passed into a proverb, and it is said—

16.—*Andamo miná'l Kosa-ee.*

"More repentant than al-Kosa-ee."

17.—*Raja' to be khuffay Honain.*

"I returned with the two boots of Honain."

18.—*Akhyabo min Honain.*

"More disappointed than Honain."

Honain was a shoe-maker with whom an Arab of the desert haggled about the price of a pair of shoes. At last the man would not purchase, and they parted angrily. Honain resolved on revenge; so he went forward on the road by which he knew the Arab must pass, and threw down one of the shoes. The Arab, when he came up, said: "How like this is to one of Honain's shoes; if the other were with it, I would take them." In the meantime Honain had gone on and thrown down the other shoe, and then hidden himself near. When the Arab came to the second shoe, he repented that he had not picked up the first; and, tying up his camel, he returned to fetch it. Honain at once mounted and rode off, having thus gained a camel in exchange for a pair of shoes. When the Arab went back to his tribe, they said to him: "What hast thou brought from thy journey?" He said: "I have brought back nothing but Honain's shoes," which became proverbial for a bootless errand.

19.—*Alá ahlehá tajni Barákisho.*

"Barákish sins against her people." The name Barákish is variously explained as that of a bitch which betrayed the place of a tribe's retreat by her barking; as that of the wife of a king who allowed her damsels needlessly in jest to kindle the signal-fire for the assembling of the troops; and thirdly, as that of a wife of Lokmán of Ad who persuaded her husband to eat the flesh of the camel, so that through the voracity of himself and his people the camels of her own tribe were destroyed.

20.—*Jammil w'ajlamil.*

"Camel us and camel thyself."

It is related that her husband's tribe did not feed upon camel, but a son of hers by a former marriage, going to visit his mother's family, brought back a joint of camel, which Lokmán, tasting, pronounced to be good food. Barákish, hearing this and desiring to partake of camel, said to her husband: "Give us camel to eat and eat it thyself," which words became proverbial.

21.—*Doona Gholayyána khartu'l kalád.*

This proverb is connected with the famous war of al-Basús. When al-Basús raised a hue and cry against the

outrage done to her neighbour's camel by Kolayb, Jessás, her nephew, in order to pacify her, said to her: "Be tranquil, tomorrow shall be slain a male-camel whose houghing shall be a greater deed than this wounding of thy neighbour's she-camel." By this he meant that he would slay Kolayb; but the prince suspected nothing, and when he heard the threat of Jessás, he said to himself: "He intends to slay my camel stallion Gholayyán; but *less than Gholayyán is the stripping of the katda, i.e., to kill Gholayyán*, would be a more difficult task than to strip the thorny tragacanth with his naked hand. This phrase became proverbial, and is used when one attempts a task above his powers. Jessás watched his opportunity, and one day, when Kolayb went to the field unarmed, he followed him accompanied by one Amr. Jessás ran at him with his spear and broke his spine and went and stood over him. Kolayb, in agony, said to him: "Give me a drink of water."

22.—*Tokhatta elayya Shobaythan wa'l Ahass.*

"Thou hast passed by Shobayth and al-Ahass," said Jessas, alluding to two water-sources which Kolayb had prohibited to the Banoo Shaybán. These words became proverbial and are used when one seeks a thing where it is not to be found. He then left him, and, Amr going up, Kolayb asked him also for water; but Amr got off his horse and despatched him, so that "to ask help of Amr in need" is a proverb meaning to supplicate a merciless person.

(b). Proverbs connected with the manners, customs, beliefs and superstitions of the Pagan Arabs.

1.—*Khairu'l ghazá-e bawdkerohu Wa Khairu'l ashá-e bawáserohu.*

"The best morning meals are the early ones, the best evening meals are those that are clearly seen," i.e., that are taken before dark. The Arabs believed that meals taken after dark would cause indigestion (cf. the Buddhist belief).

2.—*Tabá-udu'z dhabbe 'an'n noon.*

"The distance of the lizard from the fish."

The lizard was supposed not to drink; but, when thirsty, to open his mouth to the wind (cf. Hamlet. "Chameleon's dish"). So the Arabs said:

3.—*Lá yakúno zá hattá yaridu'z dhabb.*

4.—*Lá af-'alo zdliká hattá yahinnmaz dhabbo fi atharil ebelis Sádira.*

5.—*Arwá minaz dhabbe.*

"I will not do so and so until the lizard goes to water;" and the phrase "quenching thirst more easily than the lizard" became proverbial.

6.—*Taqdtmu'l harame mindn ne-am.*

7.—*Dafu'l bandt mina'l mükremát.*

8.—*Ni'ma'l khatenu'l qabr.*

"To send women before (to the other world) is a benefit." "The burying of girls is a generous deed." "The best son-in-law is the grave." These proverbs, it is needless to say, show the prevalence of the inhumation of female children (*wa'd*) and the belief of the Arabs that it was praiseworthy.

9.—*Tárart bihimi'l auká.*

The Arabs say of anyone that is lost "The Auká has flown off with him." The Auká, the Persian *Simurgh*, is a fabulous bird which is supposed to dwell on the Káf.

10.—*Lahika bi'l kárizain.*

"He has joined the two gatherers of *karaz* leaves." The two gatherers of *karaz* leaves here alluded to were two persons of the tribes of Anzá and Namir who had gone out to gather *karaz* leaves, but were never heard of afterwards. Hence it is proverbially said of a person who is not expected to return, "he has joined, &c."

11.—*Aharro min dam'i'l mahlát.*

"Hotter than the tears of one who has lost her children." The Arabs believed that the "tears of sorrow" were hot and the "tears of joy" were cold.

12.—*Atwalo min zilli'l kanát.*

The Arabs compared a long day with the shadow of a spear. They believed that the spear threw the longest shadow. So they speak of a short day as

13.—*Aksaro min ebham'i'l katát.*

Shorter than the thumb of *kata* (a bird).

(c). Uttered by famous persons on important occasions.

1.—*Anjaza hurrin ma wa'ada.*

"The honourable performs what he promises." This saying was first uttered by al-Harith al-Kindi to Sakhr. Harith had said to Sakhr: "Shall I show thee booty on the condition that I receive the fifth part of it?" "Yes," answered Sakhr. Harith then directed him to a caravan from Yemen. After Sakhr had plundered the caravan, Harith claimed his share and uttered these words, which passed into a proverb.

2.—*Fatan wa lá ka Malik.*

"A knight, but not like Malik." The meaning is that the person spoken of was not equal to Malik in bravery or goodness. This Malik, whose name has thus passed into a proverb,

was Malik ibn Nôwairah, who was put to death by Khalid-ibn al-Walid, the famous Moslem General. His brother, Mutemmim, mourned his death for a long time, and when people, in order to console him, told him of other brave men similarly killed, he used to say : "A brave man, but not like Malik."

3.—*Hanna kidhun laisa minha.*

"The arrow sounded ; it is not one of the right sort," became a proverbial expression in reference to a false pretender ; the words having been used by Omar, on the day of Bedr, in speaking of Walid ibn 'Okbah, who had exclaimed that he was of the Koraysh.

4.—*Sadagani sinna bakrohi.*

"He told me truly his camel's age." A man who was about to sell a camel assured the purchaser that it was *bâzil*, i.e., it had cut its *nâb*, or tusk, and had consequently entered its ninth year and attained its full strength. At this moment the camel started away, and the seller inadvertently called out to it; *Had'a, had'a*, the cry by which young foals are called back. The purchaser thus found that he was being deceived, and exclaimed : "Thou hast now truly, &c."

5.—*Mâ wardê ke yâ Asâme ?*

"What hast thou left behind thee, Asâme ?" Al-Harith ibn Amr, King of Kindah, desired to wed a young lady of whose charms he had heard ; but, being a cautious prince, he first sent an old woman, Asâme, to learn from actual inspection whether she deserved her reputation. When she returned, the king questioned her in the above words.

6.—*Tallobo.atharan b'ada ainin.*

"Seekest thou the trace after the substance." These words were first spoken by Malik ibn Amr al-Amili when he slew the King of Ghassan. Roused by his mother to take vengeance for his brother, who was slain by the king, Malik watched his opportunity and fell on the king when he was journeying with a small escort. The attendants offered Malik a hundred camels, the usual indemnity for a murder, if he would spare the king. He said : "I will not seek a trace (shadow) after the substance," and at once killed the king.

7.—*Innan nisâ' lahmun alâ wadhami.*

"Women are like meat on a butcher's board." The phrase "like meat on a butcher's board" is an ancient proverbial expression signifying the being weak and helpless, or exposed to danger. The proverb, "women are like meat on the tray," is derived from a saying of Omar ibn al-Khattâb.

8.—*Hála'l jaridh doona'l qaridh.*

"Choking hinders the verse;" *i.e.*, stops the way of the verse. A father forbade a poetical son to recite until the youth saddened and fell into an illness. The father then relented, but it was too late; and the son, in his last moments, uttered the words of the proverb—

9.—*Inna'l asá gore-at le zi hulmi.*

"The staff is struck for the wise." Amr ibn az-Zarabe was the first man "for whom the staff was struck;" *i.e.*, whose garrulity and wandering in old age were checked by his daughter's striking, at his request, a staff on a shield. The Arabs used to consult him on disputed points, and whenever he erred in his judgment on account of senility, his daughter warned him by striking the rod. According to another authority the rod was first struck by Saad ibn Malik in order to warn his brother Amr ibn Malik, who had incurred the wrath of the King No'man.

10.—*Fī's Saife dhayyayte'l labān.*

"During summer thou spoiledst the milk," said by Amr ibn 'Odas to his wife Dakhtenoos. Dakhtenoos had compelled Amr to divorce her on the ground that he was too old to be her husband. Unfortunately her second husband was so poor that she was obliged, on one occasion, to send to Amr (her former husband) for milk, when he replied in the words of the proverb.

11.—*Ház'a fásdī andī.*

"This is my bleeding, mine." This proverb is attributed to Ká'b ibn Mámeh, the Sir Philip Sidney of Pagan Arabia. While a prisoner among the tribe of Anazab, where he had voluntarily placed himself in bondage in order to free a man who had invoked his succour, he had been told by the mistress of the house to bleed the camel, to make blood puddings for the guests. Indignant at this stinginess, he had killed it, and, when rated by the housewife, he uttered the above saying: But this story is also told of Hatim, with the addition that the lady slapped his face, whereupon Hatim exclaimed—

Law ghairo záte sewárin latamatni.

"If any other bracelet-wearer had slapped me."

ART, XV.—TO AN INDIAN MOON.

Pale orb of night,
Divinely bright,
That ridest on the southern skies,
Manifest Queen !
Whom, dimly seen
In our far misty northern clime,
While fairies peep thro' leafy screen,
Lovers invoke,
As thou dost rise
'Twixt the gnarled boughs of some hoar oak
On summer-eve at trysting-time ;—

Was't in disdain,
Or part in pain
For ruth of thine Endymion,
Where he lay drown'd in deathless sleep,
From Latmos' steep
Thou cam'st to weep
Here, leaving there a phantom cold
A shade, a ghost,
As some have told
That Helen's wraith in Ilion
Mocked Paris and the Grecian host ?
For thee, for thee,
O list ! the sea
Heaves all its myriad moaning waves,

And bids them rear
White hands of spray
That fade in fitful gleams away ;—
Then, sunk to lowly sobbing lanes
The placid beach,
If it might teach
The rhythmic pebbles melody
To draw thee from thy crystal sphere.

Beneath thy wand
The tranced land
In slumber lies, her languorous hush
Scarce stirr'd by airs
Whose fragrant prayers
Through balmy bowers whisper bland :
The palm-tree sways his dreaming plumes,
And in the tangle
Of creeper lush
And scented shrub each firefly spangle
Its beacon-light of love illumines.

So now ! the clouds—
Their pearly shrouds
Steal o'er thee, fleecy soft caresses
Woingly laid
About thy tresses—
And is thy vengeful armoury spent ?
Nay, let them fear thee, Heavenly Maid !
Thy bow is bent,
And, swiftly torn,

They part, their flying shoulders sprent
With steely flashes of thy scorn !

We mortals gaze :

Our hymns of praise

Roll up : thou heedest not, nor stoopest.

But trailing still thy starry zone,

In splendour lapp'd,

From thy high throne

On our wild eyes too fondly rapt,

With icy spires

Of fruitless fires

Freezing the flame of mad desires,

Thy bright benumbing sceptre droopest.

W.

ART. XVI.—CURTIUS.

(A Fragmentary Lay of Rome)

On Palatine the holy Square
Gleams in the moonlight still,
And the Capitol of Tātius
Stands on the northern Hill :
But in the midst the valley makes
A wide and level street
Where citizens and Sabines
By day were wont to meet :
Now, night has brought a portent ;
Where once the traders came,
A chasm has rent the market-place,
And all the lately-busy space
Is foul with smoke and flame.

The citizens have left their homes
And fled in wild affright ;
There was no rest for Romans
Upon that awful night :
But in the first watch, when the dark
Was dying in the East,
The people slumbered, spent with care,
And dreamed of succour least :
When, lo ! from distant Vesta
A sound that wakened all,
A shout, as when Camillus
Charged home the wavering Gaul :

And high above the thronging
A mounted man appears,
Over his head a scarlet plume,
Behind his back two spears :
Proudly he reined his chafing steed,
Proudly he looked on high ;

While the crowd turned to left and right,
 As if it fled before the light
 Of some immortal eye.

He took the maiden kiss of Dawn,
 As of an equal power ;
 Men said no man had ever looked
 As Curtius did that hour.
 "Ho ! Romans and Quirites !"
 He cried for all to hear,
 Have ye no dread, the word hath sped,
 "The auspices are clear ;
 "Rome owes—so says the augury—
 "To three good gifts her force,
 "And here I bring them at her need—
 "Arms, and a man and horse."

With that he smote his charger's flank
 And shook his iron bit,
 The noble beast flung up his head,
 And leaped into the pit :
 And, on the spot where Curtius
 Sank down, a water lay
 Which people call "The Curtian pool"
 Unto this very day.

* * * *

*More than two thousand years are gone
 Since then. Again has burst
 A chasm in Rome that threatens
 More mischief than the first.*

*To heal that danger to the State
 And quench those fatal fires
 A Hero and a sacrifice
 The Forum still requires..*

THE QUARTER.

FOR Englishmen, wherever placed, the history of the past Quarter, like that which preceded it, has meant practically the history of the War in South Africa. The record, happily, has been one of almost uninterrupted success. When we closed our last retrospect, on the 10th March, Cronje had surrendered, Ladysmith had been relieved, and Lord Roberts had inflicted a severe defeat on the enemy in the neighbourhood of Osfontein and was in full march on the Free State Capital. Subsequent events seem to show that the surrender of Cronje with his army, and the rapid advance by which it was followed, must have completely demoralised the Boers, whose resistance has since been for the most part of a very faint-hearted character.

Any attempt at a detailed account of the operations which resulted in the occupation of Bloemfontein on the 13th March, Kroonstadt on the 12th May, Johannesburg just 18 days later, and Pretoria on the 5th June, and the relief of Mafeking on the 17th May, would be superfluous here. It is enough to say that the action at Osfontein, in which our casualties were relatively insignificant, was followed by another at Driefontein, on the 6th March, which also resulted in a complete victory for our troops, consisting mainly of General Broadwood's brigade and General Kelly Kenny's division. The further advance of the force towards Bloemfontein was unopposed, and three days later that place surrendered at discretion after General French had threatened to bombard the town, Lord Roberts, who entered at noon, receiving what is described as a tremendous ovation.

On the 15th March General Gatacre crossed the Orange River and occupied Bethulie, and the following morning General Pole Carew, with 2,000 Guards and two guns, started from Bloemfontein to join him and seized Springfontein junction, thus securing the railway communications of Bloemfontein.

At Bloemfontein a pause of some six weeks occurred in the general advance, the delay being due partly to lack of remounts for the cavalry and partly to the renewed activity of the enemy to the East and South-East, where some of the severest fighting of the campaign took place in the interval, the net result being the retirement of the Boers on Kroonstadt. On the 30th April, Lord Roberts having in the meantime been re-inforced

by the newly arrived 8th Division, a further advance was made by General Wavell's, General Bruce Hamilton's and General Maxwell's brigades in the direction of Brandfort, and on the 3rd May that town was occupied, the Boer army under General Delarey retreating to the North-East, and the mounted infantry immediately pushed forward to the Vet river. On the 6th Winburg surrendered to General Hamilton and the entire force advanced to the Vet river drift, which was carried, without serious opposition, after a severe artillery duel, apparently intended to cover the retreat of the enemy. On the 7th the force occupied Smaldeel junction, and on the following day General Hamilton, with the mounted infantry, occupied Fourteen Streams. On the 9th the main body advanced to Welgelegen on the Zand river. It was expected that the enemy would make a determined stand on the North bank; but, though they occupied a strong position, the opposition encountered was of the feeblest, and the river was crossed by the entire force on the morning of the 10th with slight loss.

Pushing on at daybreak of the following day, the headquarters, with General Pole Carew's Division, marched twenty miles, to within fourteen miles of Kroonstadt, the Boers occupying an entrenched position at Boschrand, about six miles in advance.

The same afternoon, General French seized the drift across the Valsché river. During the night the enemy evacuated their first line of entrenchments, and at 1-30 P.M. Kroonstadt was occupied without opposition, President Steyn having fled to Heilbron, the previous evening, after issuing a proclamation constituting it the future capital of the Free State. Though the President's efforts to persuade the Burghers to defend Kroonstadt were unavailing, it was anticipated that the enemy would hotly contest the passage of the Vaal river. Lindley was occupied on the 17th by General Broadwood, and on the same day Lord Methuen, to the west of the main line of advance, occupied Hoopstadt.

The advance from Kroonstadt began on the 21st May; and on the 23rd the force crossed the Rhenoster river, the enemy having fled during the night after slight resistance. On the 24th the advanced guard crossed the Vaal near Parys, the main body crossing three days later, just in time to prevent the destruction of the coal mines, our casualties in the operation being only four. On the 28th the force made a magnificent march of twenty miles and arrived within eighteen miles of Johannesburg, the enemy abandoning their positions one after another with the utmost precipitation. On the 29th, the outskirts of Johannesburg were reached, and the Clerksdorp railway junction connecting that place with Natal and Pretoria was seized.

The following day the town surrendered and it was occupied on the 31st after a respite of 24 hours, and the annexation of the Orange Free State under the name of the Orange River Colony proclaimed. The same day a portion of the force pushed on to Hatherley; thus severing the railway communication between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay, but too late to prevent the escape of President Kruger. On the 2nd June the bulk of the force encamped near Pretoria, General Wavell's brigade being left at Johannesburg, where the mines were found uninjured, to prevent disorder. On the 4th June it was announced that Pretoria had been invested after severe fighting at Six-mile Spruit, and that the Burgomaster was prepared to give up the town on a formal demand being made. The following day the town surrendered unconditionally and Lord Roberts entered it at 2 P.M. A Reuter's telegram, dated 6th June says: Just before dark yesterday, the enemy were beaten back from all positions, General Hamilton's Mounted Infantry pursuing them to within 2,000 yards of Pretoria. A flag of truce was sent, demanding the surrender. General Botha proposed an armistice for the purpose of settling terms; but Lord Roberts intimated that the surrender must be unconditional, otherwise our troops would march into the town at daybreak. General Botha replied that they had decided not to defend Pretoria, and trusted that the women, children and property would be protected. Three of the principal civil officials met Lord Roberts at 1 o'clock in the morning and stated their wish to surrender the town. Few of the British prisoners have been removed. Over 100 officers are in Pretoria.

The only serious reverses that occurred in the course of these operations were the partial destruction of a convoy despatched, with his baggage and batteries, by General Broadwood from his bivouac near Thabanchu towards the Bloemfontein Waterworks, which was ambushed in a deep nullah and lost six guns and 435 men, killed, wounded and missing, and the surprise and capture of five companies when marching from Reddersberg to Smithfield.

Mafeking was relieved on the 17th May by a composite force of about 2,300 men under Colonel Mahon, who had effected a junction with Colonel Plumer at Jammāsibi, two days previously. A most determined attack had been made on the garrison on the 13th by a body of 250 Boers under Commandant Eloff, who succeeded in penetrating into the heart of the British camp. In the struggle which ensued and which lasted all day, half the little band got divided and surrounded and the survivors finally surrendered. The Boers left 10 dead, 19 wounded and 108 prisoners, including Eloff himself and nine officers, with seventeen Frenchmen and Germans. The relief-

ing force was stubbornly opposed by 1,500 of the enemy some nine miles from Mafeking on the 16th, but drove them from their positions after five hours' fighting. After the relief the garrison and the relieving force attacked and routed the Boers under General Snyman, and Colonel Plumer has since occupied Zeerust.

It is somewhat difficult, from the fragmentary accounts that have appeared from time to time in the daily papers, to gain a clear and connected view of the operations in Natal subsequent to the relief of Ladysmith. After that event it appears the Boers continued to hold the Biggersberg range in force, and on at least two occasions serious attacks were made on our advanced camp at Elandslaagte from that direction, but were easily repelled.

On the 12th May an advance was made from Elandslaagte and Indoda Hill occupied. On the 13th Uithoek Hill was attacked and carried, and on the following day the enemy evacuated Helpmakaar Nek. On the 15th Wessels Nek and Dundee were occupied, and Glencoe on the 16th, the Transvaalers evacuating the entire line of the Biggersberg, a few days later our troops re-entered Newcastle; and on the 19th General Clery advanced to Ingogo and Lord Dundonald to the neighbourhood of Laings Nek, the Boers holding fortified positions from Laing's Nek to Vryheid. On the 30th May General Hildyard occupied Utrecht, the enemy at the same time evacuating Dornberg, while General Buller was encamped on Inkwelo Mountain, which commands the enemy's camp at Pogwani.

The latest news to hand is contained in the following dispatch from General Buller dated 8th June:—

"We have captured positions which, I think, render the Boer position at Laing's Nek untenable. General Talbot Coke, with the 10th Brigade, on the 6th instant, captured Vanwyke's Hill, our casualties being 4 killed and 13 wounded. During the 6th and 7th we posted four big guns on Vanwyke and two guns on a spur of Inkwelo. General Hildyard to-day assailed all the spurs between Botha's Pass and Inkwelo. The attack was well planned and carried out with immense dash. The enemy were outflanked and forced to retire from their very strong position."

The ably-planned operations by which these results have been achieved have been marred, like those in the neighbourhood of Bloemfontein, by an unfortunate mishap, General Bethune's Horse, which were detached to drive the Boers from Nqutu and Vryheid having fallen into an ambuscade between the former place and Mount Prospect, and lost between twenty and thirty killed and wounded, besides a number captured.

It was at first believed that Kruger had effected his escape

from the country, *vid* Lorenzo Marques, and that he might be expected to turn up next on the Continent, but the account of his interview with a correspondent of the *Daily Express* at Machada Dorp, telegraphed by Reuter on the 8th instant, shows that this impression was premature. His declaration that the Burghers will never surrender while there are 500 armed men left in the country may, none the less, probably, be set down as "bluff." At the same time, the war may be expected to drag on some weeks longer, the probability being that a remnant of the Boers will make a final stand in the difficult country in the N.-E. angle of the Republic, where, however, they will shortly find themselves completely surrounded.

Considerable dissatisfaction has been created in certain quarters in England by the publication of Lord Roberts and General Buller's despatches, or rather a selection from them regarding the Spionkop fiasco, containing certain reflections on General Buller's conduct which is censured as being opposed to good policy and official practice. The public conscience seems to have been specially exercised by a suggestion of Lord Lansdowne's that General Buller should recast his narrative of the operations, which, much to his credit, he refused to do. Lord Rosebery, in the Lords, accused the Government of having impaired General Buller's authority and humiliated him, because they were unable to face a few questions in the House of Commons, and the general opinion of the Press appears to be that the publication of the despatches was unjustified.

Apart from the war in South Africa the most important event of the Quarter from a national point of view is, perhaps, the enactment of the Commonwealth Bill, which was read a second time by the House of Commons unopposed on the 21st May, a compromise having been arrived at on the question of appeals. Under the appeal clause as passed, all questions as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and the Australian States, or as to the limits of such powers between the State themselves, are left to the decision of the High Court of the Commonwealth; and in cases of this class there is to be no appeal except with the consent of the Governments concerned. In all other cases the right of appeal is preserved, power, however, being reserved to the Commonwealth Parliament to limit the right of appeal in future with the consent of the Crown. Two out of six colonies, it should be added, together with all the Chief Justices, were in favour of the retention of the former right of appeal in all cases.

A crisis of some magnitude, the ultimate-consequences of

which it is difficult to forecast, has arisen in China, where a serious anti-foreign movement in the neighbourhood of Peking, organised by the Boxer secret society and believed to be fomented by the Dowager Empress and her party, threatens to necessitate active intervention on the part of the Powers. So far the Imperial forces have shown themselves utterly unable or unwilling to suppress the rising; the Powers, including America and Japan, who are co-operating in defence of the common interests, have landed a considerable force at Tientsin and twenty-three war ships are assembled at Taku. Many miles of the Peking railway have been destroyed; several Europeans, including an English Missionary, have been murdered, and the situation at Peking is said to be critical. The latest information is that 250 of the Hong-Kong regiment and 200 of the Welsh Fusiliers, whose place is to be supplied by troops from India, have been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to the North, while a Russian force is also moving on the capital.

Politically the past three months in India have been wholly uneventful, and, with the exception of a marked abatement of the mortality from Plague in all parts of the country, the domestic situation has undergone but little change.

The Financial Statement, which was laid before the Council by Mr. Dawkins on the 21st March, and which was framed for the first time in sterling, shows a surplus for 1898-99 of £2,641,000, and for the past year of £2,553,000, receipts having improved during the year by £607,000 in spite of a loss of land revenue, amounting to £1,187,000, owing to the famine. At the same time, notwithstanding several large economies, the net expenditure has increased by £676,000, also owing to the famine, which has entailed an outlay of £2,055,000 for relief purposes. The Budget Estimates for the year are made up on the basis of exchange of an 16*d*. An increase of £838,000 is taken under land revenue, as it is hoped famine will have disappeared by September. An increase of £667,000 is anticipated from railways, and of £156,000 from opium owing to better prices in China. Direct famine relief is expected to cost £3,335,000. Allowing for temporary increases due to high prices, and for recoveries, Military Estimates show an increase of £746,000, of which nearly half is devoted to re-arming the Native Army. The surplus for 1900-1901 works out at £160,000. The Secretary of State is expected to have drawn by the 31st March £19,000,000 at an average rate a little over 16*d*., but owing to famine expenditure £1,500,000 of the drawings were met out of Currency Reserve, the gold being held in England.

Next year the Secretary of State expects to draw £16,440,000

and to incur temporary debt of £500,000. The Secretary of State does not expect to raise fresh permanent sterling debt; but it is estimated that a loan of three crores will be necessary in India for Ways and Means. Capital expenditure on railways will amount to £4,872,000, and the Irrigation grant is raised to a full crore.

The gold held by Government under the new Currency Arrangements amounted on the 7th March to £8,570,000, or more by £3,570,000 than the minimum balance which it is considered necessary to maintain in that metal; and it has accordingly been decided to pay out gold in excess of the limit of £5,000,000 to any one desiring it. The gross receipts from railways during the year showed a gratifying increase of £824,000, those from opium an increase of £401,000, which is, perhaps, even more satisfactory, and those from the Post Office, Télégraphs, and Mints an increase of £423,000. It is considered highly satisfactory that during the past year India met all demands for famine and railway construction out of revenue, without recourse to borrowing, and passed to a gold standard through the ordinary operations of trade, without incurring additional debt; but the cost at which all this has been done cannot be ignored and has left an enduring mark on the country.

During the period under review the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure have issued their Report. Their recommendations, while they are very far from meeting the claims of the Indian Government, or satisfying the demands of justice, and while there is nothing in them that can be considered to account for the inordinate delay that has occurred in the preparation of the Report, are important enough to justify the enquiry.

On the question of the efficiency of the financial machinery of the Government their verdict is one of almost unqualified approval. They pronounce it to be well-organised, effectively controlled, and, though the process of ascertaining actual receipts and expenditure is slower than in England, well adapted to the conditions of the country. They, however, think it worthy of consideration whether the financial year should not close on the 31st December, in which case, they remark, the accounts of actual income and expenditure would be practically complete by the time the Budget was opened, and there would be no need for Revised Estimates.

As regards Financial Control they express themselves somewhat more doubtfully. They think the controlling power of the Financial Member of the Council is theoretically complete; but they note a serious difference of opinion on the part of recent Finance Members as to his practical power, and

remark that, as far as the administration in India is concerned, everything depends on the weight attached by the Viceroy to financial considerations. They accordingly think it desirable that the Secretary of State should learn unreservedly the opinion of the Financial Member, and consider the suggestion of Lord Cromer that he should be at liberty to express it in a confidential memorandum, to be forwarded by the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, deserving of favourable consideration.

As regards the sufficiency of the Indian audit their opinion is on the whole favourable, but they are divided on the question whether the terms of appointment and duties of the Comptroller and Auditor-General are a sufficient guarantee of his independence. They make certain recommendations, which need not be detailed here, regarding the form and disposal of the appropriation accounts, and they also think that the Auditor of the Home Accounts should exercise a free-discretion in commenting on the expenditure audited by him; that these accounts, with his Report and a Minute of the Secretary of State on them, should be referred to a Standing Committee, two of the members of which should be unconnected with the India Office and one should be the English Auditor and Comptroller-General, and that the Report of the Committee, with the papers, should be laid before Parliament.

On the important subject of the growth of expenditure, they satisfy themselves with instituting a comparison between 1861-62 and 1895-96, and come to the conclusion that the produce of taxation in the interval increased in a considerably greater rate than the population; and that, while the growth of expenditure outstripped the normal growth of the tax-revenue by Rs. 5,550,000, the expenditure included a sum of no less than Rs. 13,800,000 for increased cost of exchange; so that, but for the charge entailed in India by the fall of exchange, the normal growth of revenue would not only have been sufficient to meet the largely increased demands of Military and other services, but would have provided a large balance available for reduction of taxation.

As to the cost of collecting the revenue, they remark that it is very heavy, but that, barring that of the Land Revenue, it is not much higher than in the United Kingdom.

Turning to cost of civil administration, they arrive at the conclusion that that of the "general administration" was not excessive as compared with 1875 and cannot fairly be considered extravagant. Passing to non-effective civil expenditure, they express an opinion that the Indian scale of furlough or leave pay is not extravagant as compared with allowances of the same kind in the Imperial Diplomatic and Consular

Service, or in Ceylon, and while they point out the heaviness of the burden cast on the tax-payer by the fall of exchange for civil pensions payable in England, and urge that the Government of India should take steps to ascertain the financial effect of the pension regulations, they abstain from pronouncing against the existing scale, "recognising that laborious and responsible service in a tropical climate should entitle a man to a substantial pension in reasonable time."

In connexion with the expenditure on Defence and Foreign Affairs, they note the large increase, amounting to 47 per cent., between 1884-85 and 1896-97, but observe that if the effect of the fall in exchange were excluded, the increase would probably not exceed 29 per cent. The chief causes of the increase, they add, are the addition to the British force in India, the increase of the native army, the annexation of Upper Burmah, the increased allowances to the native army to meet increased prices of food, increase of recruiting and depôt charges in England, and of non-effective charges, and the grant of deferred pay to the soldiers.

They further remark that the increase of non-effective charges, due largely to the effect of the abolition of purchase, is formidable; that the charge for leave pensions to officers of the native Indian army has increased very greatly, and there is also a large increase in the pensions of ministers of religion attached to the army; and they recommend that an actuarial report should be obtained showing the normal non-effective charge entailed upon the tax-payer by the present regulations and the proportion it bears to effective, as well as a similar report on the charge for military pensions formerly payable from military funds.

As regards the apportionment of charges between the United Kingdom and India for services in which both are regarded as interested, they make a series of more or less important recommendations. Briefly, under the head of civil charges, they recommend that the United Kingdom should contribute £50,000 a year to the cost of the India Office; that the United Kingdom should contribute half the military charges of the fortress of Aden; that the charges for the Legations and Consulates in Persia should be equally divided between the two countries; that India should maintain the Euphrates and Tigris and the United Kingdom the Karun river, subsidy.

Under the head of army services we gather that they do not on the whole consider that the present capitation grant is excessive, or that short service will eventually entail an increased burden on India; they think, however, that the capitation grant should be revised after a further period of five or six years, and that, pending such revision, half the cost of

transport of troops between the two countries might fairly be borne by the United Kingdom.

In respect of payment for Indian Troops employed out of India, they submit for consideration the Heads of a Treasury Minute which, they suggest, might be drafted for allocating the distribution of charges on a geographical basis. These are :

1. That India has not a direct and substantial interest in the employment of forces in Europe ; in Africa, west of the Cape of Good Hope ; in Asia, east of China.
2. That India has a direct and substantial interest in keeping open the Suez Canal, and in the maintenance of order and established government in Egypt so far as the security of the Suez Canal is affected thereby. This interest might extend to the coasts of the Red Sea only so far as to maintain the inviolability of that shore, but not to the Soudan, or further extensions of Egypt up the valley of the Nile or its affluents.
3. That India may have a modified interest in questions affecting the East Coast of Africa as far as Zanzibar, and the African islands in the Indian Ocean, except Madagascar.
4. That India has no direct or substantial interest in the African coast south of Zanzibar.
5. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Persia, and the coasts and islands of Arabia and of the Persian Gulf.
6. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Afghanistan and that part of Central Asia which is adjacent to the borders of India or Afghanistan.
7. That India has a sole interest in punitive expeditions on her borders.
8. That India has a direct and substantial interest in questions affecting Siam.
9. That India has a modified interest in questions affecting China and the Malay Peninsula.
10. That India has no direct or substantial interest in Japan or countries or islands east and south of China.
11. That special cases may arise giving to India a direct and substantial interest in questions connected with Europe or other territories in which the Minute declares her to have, as a general rule, no interest.
12. That in every case where the two Governments are not agreed, no contribution should be made by India until the sanction of Parliament has been obtained.

"We think" they add, "that in the event of the Governments of the United Kingdom and India not agreeing upon the question of 'distinct and special' interest, a committee might be constituted of two members appointed by Your Majesty's Government, and two members appointed by the Secretary of State in Council, and of a chairman to be selected by the four members. This committee should make a report to the Government which should be presented to Parliament ; and the Government, within a prescribed period, should present its final determination for the satisfaction of both Houses. The Treasury Minute would aid the committee and the two Governments in arriving at a decision."

As regards Naval charges the Commissioners incline to the view that the sum of £100,000 at present paid towards the cost of ships of the Royal Navy employed in Indian waters is not excessive, but suggest that friction between the two Governments might be removed if ships of the size and number required by the Government of India for coast police were supplied at the actual cost, and the balance of that sum paid over in a lump as the contribution of India to the general cost of the navy.

In connexion with the appeal for liberal treatment submitted by the Indian Government the Commissioners, after going into the arguments on either side, suggest no change beyond that already mentioned regarding a division of the cost of transport of troops to and from India; but express their concurrence in the views of the Committee of the House of Commons which reported on Indian expenditure in 1874, and with reference to their opinion that payments by India to England should take the form of fixed rates as to which the India Office should be consulted, they observe that there ought to be no instance of a charge imposed upon the Indian Government without previous consultation with the Secretary of State, and that no alterations involving expenditure in India should take effect in India till the beginning of the financial year following their adoption.

As already noted, the mortality from Plague has shown a marked diminution during the past three months, the total number of deaths from the disease in all India having, according to the latest returns, fallen to between seven hundred and eight hundred a week.

The distress in Western India and Rajputana, on the other hand, continues unabated, and the number of persons in receipt of relief has nearly reached six millions. As far, however, as can be judged from present indications the coming monsoon promises to be of at least normal strength, though somewhat later than usual.

Among minor results of the Quarter specially connected with India we may note the institution by the Queen-Empress of a new decoration for local services entitled the Kaiser-i-Hind medal. The decoration comprises two classes—a gold and a silver medal—and is to be given for public services in India irrespectively of class, rank, creed or sex. The first list of medallists was issued on Her-Majesty's birthday.

The obituary for the quarter includes the names of the Duke of Argyll; Field Marshall Sir Donald Stewart, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.; Major-General Sir E. R. P. Woodgate; the Earl of Harrowby; Dr. St. George Mivart; Mr. Archibald Forbes; Colonel the Hon'ble George Hugh Gough, C.B.; Osman

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Hic et Ubique. Verses written in Idleness. By H. G. Keene, C.I.E. Allahabad, 1899.

THE discriminating reader will hardly lay down this little volume of graceful verses without feeling that, with more abundant opportunity, its author would have taken a place in the front rank of contemporary English singers. It is exclusively to the cultured, however, that Mr. Keene's Muse, unlike that of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, appeals; and under no circumstances, probably, could he have expected more than a limited audience. Even in his more humorous vein, to which he yields but seldom, as in the lines to an Angora Cat, he never ceases to be refined. The lyrical element is everywhere conspicuous in Mr. Keene's poetry, and the dominant note strikes us as a more than usually sad one. Yet few persons, we think, will take leave of *Hic et Ubique* without regret for its brevity or without a sense of gain.

In "Crossing the Street," which we quote below, Mr. Keene is not, perhaps, quite at his best; but it will appeal strongly to many an Anglo-Indian.

CROSSING THE STREET.

DEAR UNCLE DICK! I see him yet,

His Quixote face and white moustache;

The one cheroot he smoked a day,

And how he watched the lengthening ash:

He never talked of what he'd been,

Or all the glory that he missed,

But if you asked about his deeds,

Referred you to the *Indian List*:

There you could see what life was his;

He had ruled and judged and thought and planned,

Had made the name of England blessed,

And civilised an Eastern land:

The Province where he once held sway—

A modern Soldier of the Cross—

Had stretched as far as half our isle;

From Pentland Firth to Solway Moss:

And now he ruled, when all was done,
 A two-pair flat in Pimlico,
 A stranger in his native land whom no one
 Really cared to know.
 And all his work was now to march through fog and
 snow,
 Through wind and sleet,
 To read the journal at his club,
 And cross with care the crowded street :
 Till age came, on, with slow decay,
 Unmarked by us, unnamed by him,
 The elastic step grew weak and stiff,
 The hearing faint, the eye-sight dim ;
 One winter night they brought him home,
 Crushed in the darkness and the rain,
 And laid him on his lonely bed ;
 He never crossed the street again.

Four months Besieged. H. H. S. PEARSE, Macmillan & Co.,
 London and New York.

IN the avalanche of books, fiction and fact, which owe
 their origin to the present war in South Africa, it is
 pleasant to come across one written in the sober and judicial
 spirit which characterises Mr. Pearse's story of Ladysmith,
Four Months Besieged. It consists of pages from letters
 and diaries that, with the exception of two or three
 of the letters which managed to escape the various accidents
 that beset the path of the special correspondent, have hitherto
 remained unpublished. Although, of course, they do not con-
 tain an absolutely full account of the siege, the description
 they give is complete enough to enable any one with the
 necessary imagination and a faculty for reading between the
 lines, to follow the fortunes of the sorely tried little garrison
 from day to day. from the investment in the first week in
 November to the relief in the last week in February. No
 praise can be too great for the conduct of the troops, the
 patient endurance of the citizens and the gallantry and ability
 of the general during the latter part of the siege ; but even to
 those least versed in warfare it will be evident that mistakes
 were made at the outset which, it is hard to believe, did not
 add greatly to the difficulties of the position. As to whether Sir
 George White was justified in running the risk of humiliation

by asking of General Joubert that the non-combatants with sick and wounded should be allowed to leave Ladysmith unmolested, or not, there will doubtless always be great difference of opinion, but there can be none, we should think, as to the danger and folly of his permitting Boer escorts, who came to demand an exchange of wounded to enter the town under no military restrictions and not even blind-folded. Among them, we are told, there were burghers who were neither doctors nor qualified in any way for attendance on wounded men. They moved about the town, talked with Boer prisoners, "drank at public bars with suspected Boer sympathisers—all this while they probably picked up many interesting items as to the number of troops in Ladysmith, the position of ordnance stores and magazines, and the general state of our defences, which were chaotic at that moment. One among the visitors was particularly curious about the names of officers who dined habitually at the Royal Hotel mess, and very anxious to have such celebrities as Colonel Frank Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, and Sir John Willoughby pointed out to him. Does anybody in his senses believe that such careful inquiries were made without an object, or that the Red Cross badge was regarded as a sacred symbol sealing the lips of a Boer as to all he had seen and heard in Ladysmith?

When Joubert's artillery began shelling the town their fire was directed on important stores, the locality of which could have been indicated to them only by secret agents, and on places where officers are known to assemble at certain hours. These may all have been merely strange coincidences, but, at any rate, they are noteworthy as showing that in some way, whether by accident or cunning design, General Joubert's gunners were able to profit by the truce that was agreed upon without any exact stipulation on either side as to its duration. The tacit understanding seems to have been that both forces should have time to collect their wounded and bury their dead."

At other times during the siege Boer farmers and others would appear to have been given opportunities for spying out the land, with the result that the plans of the besieged became known to the enemy almost as soon as they were formulated, a state of things which points to an amiability and confidence in the General which certainly amounted to weakness. An interesting chapter headed "A Christmas under Siege" describes the devices resorted to in order to celebrate the great festival in a manner worthy of old traditions. Roast beef for Tommy there was, it seems, plenty, but unfortunately the oxen which provided it were too lean to give also the suet necessary for his plum pudding. But in spite of this drawback the puddings were duly forthcoming. Mr. Pearse however, per-

haps wisely, keeps to himself the secret as to what substitute was found for that important ingredient. It seems strange to read of Christmas trees being got up for the children while shells were screaming over the town, but habit apparently accustoms men even to such startling visitors, and in Ladysmith several of the officers got together the materials and the toys and entertained over 200 children with four trees representing "Great Britain," "Australia," "Canada" and "South Africa" under folds of the Union Jack. One of the pathetic incidents of the siege which forms a striking example of the irony of fate, was the death of Dr. Stark, a "visitor from England with the avowed object of giving medical care to any wounded enemies who might fall into our hands. When Boer shells began to burst about our ears Dr. Stark was the most practical advocate of caution. He would leave the Royal Hotel at daybreak every morning, or even earlier, carrying with him a pet kitten in a basket, and sufficient supplies for a whole day up to dinner-time. When the light began to fade so that gunners could hardly see to shoot straight, and therefore ceased firing, he would emerge from his riverside retreat and return to the hotel. Foresight could not suggest more complete precautions against accident than he took on common-sense principles. But, unhappily, one evening the Boer artillery carried on practice later than usual, aiming with fixed sights steadily at the Royal Hotel, in the evident hope of hitting some staff officers who were supposed to hold their mess there. It was nearly dark when two shells came in rapid succession from the big gun near Lombard's Kop, and the second, passing clean through Dr. Stark's empty bedroom into the hall below, went out by an open door and hit the doctor, who was coming in at that moment. A special correspondent, Mr. M'Hugh, who happened to be standing near, rendered first-aid by the application of a tourniquet; and trained nurses came quickly to his assistance, but too late to save the kindly gentleman, who had been shot through both legs, and whose life-blood was ebbing fast, though he remained alive and conscious of everything that passed for an hour afterwards. The hand of fate seemed there, but whether it was more merciful to him or to those who, having escaped shot and shell, are now stricken by disease in an unhealthy camp, who shall say?"

How hard pressed the little garrison became before that joyful night when the relieving force entered the town, will be seen by all who read Mr. Pearse's book. Even on February, the 7th, it was felt that if relief was much longer delayed, worse things than privation would ensue, for scurvy was added to the other diseases in Intombi camp; and horseflesh, which

for some time had been given out under some sort of disguise and glorified by the name of "chevril," had already been frankly placed on the bill of fare, with the result that many civilians who had doubtless been enjoying it under an assumed name refused to eat it. The book is furnished with illustrations and maps, and should not only be read, but bought by all who are interested in the war and wish to retain a clear memory of the circumstances of this memorable siege.

The Cambric Mask. BY ROBERT W. CHAMBERS. Macmillan & Co., London.

THERE is a lack of seriousness, amounting almost to flippancy about Mr. Robert W. Chambers' last book, *The Cambric Mask*, which will probably surprise those who read his *Ashes of Empire*. This quality, however, makes it very good reading for anyone in want of a book to while away an idle hour. It deals with the schemes and villanies of a lawless community in the States of America, and of the disintegration of a band of moonlighters called the "White Riders," with whom other secret brotherhoods, with their signals, codes and rituals "dissolved into legendry as quietly as they have come into existence." The characters of the hero, "John Sark," who employs his time in collecting entomological specimens, and as some one describes it "keeps hot-houses for to breed silk-worms," and raise new species of butterflies, and his companion, "Mr. Batty," stand out in striking contrast to the scoundrels amongst whom they live, and their several love adventures, if savouring slightly of caricature, form an agreeable interlude between the scenes of coarse American vituperation and the schemes of unscrupulous financiers. Mr. Chambers indeed provides us with sufficiently varied fare, and tells his story with a briskness which forbids his readers to lay the book down unfinished. What part the Cambric Mask plays in the plot it is not for us to disclose. We can only recommend those who have not already read the romance to do so and discover for themselves.

Longmans' Readers for Bengal Schools (Anglo-Bengali).
The First Primer. Edited by W. H. Arden Wood, M. A.,
La Martinière, Calcutta. Longmans, Green, and Company,
32, Hornby Road, Bombay; London and New York, 1900.

IN this first Anglo-Bengali primer, Mr. Arden Wood has followed the type common in England in which the letters of the alphabet are each illustrated by a representation of some familiar object, the name of which begins with

it, the letter A, for example, being accompanied by the figure of an ape, J by that of a jackal, and so on. A similar device is adopted for impressing on the pupil the meanings of the simple monosyllables used as nouns substantive in the easy sentences constituting the syntactical exercises given in the primer, and, in some cases, the states or action predicated in the sentences. All these illustrations, too, are highly coloured, and would no doubt impress an average English child of two or three years greatly. The intention is laudable, and to the execution there is nothing to object. Indeed, it is often greatly superior to that found in most English primers of the same type. At the same time, we fear that Mr. Wood, or whoever is responsible for the method adopted, has somewhat underrated the precocity of the Bengalee child, which, for the most part, not merely renders it independent of such expedients, but not uncommonly disposes it to laugh at them. The translations are in most cases accurate and colloquial, though the rendering of "*The ox in the pit*;" "*The dog is thin*" and the like by *ঐ বাড়ী ঐ খানার ভিতরে ঐ কুকুরটি কুশ* and so on, is questionable. Altogether the primer is a painstaking and attractive compilation.

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess
profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, a
and set forth new positions to the world; and, were
and tinders of our feet; so long as in that notion
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for
utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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ART I.—A RETURNED EMPTY.

(Continued from July 1900, No. 221.)

CHAPTER III.

1885.

THIS year opened on a return to London life, in charge of a Hindu nobleman whom we may identify as "Kumar Sahib," that being his ordinary title. He was what was called a statutory civilian, a species now believed to be verging on extinction. This was an idea of Lord Lytton's, *viz.*, to nominate native Indians of high caste and family, as a sort of civil cadets, to qualify for covenanted service. The present youth had been sent home to pick up a little occidental civilisation, attend Law-Courts, and otherwise fit himself for administrative employ under the Indian Government, and I had to put him into the right paths under the general control of the India Office.

In public affairs the year was the inevitable offspring of the preceding; beginning with a terrible Guy Fawkes affair in Parliament, fortunately before the sitting had opened. News soon came of the practical failure of the Sudan expedition and death of General Gordon: followed by rebellion in North America, under a French Half-breed named Riel, and a serious difficulty on the Afghan Frontier, arising out of an attack on the Ameer's troops by a Russian force. Later on Riel was captured and hanged, the last execution on purely political charges that has taken place under British rule for many years; and peace was patched up with Russia, owing greatly to the Ameer's moderation, and without any conclusion as to the question of the Muscovite General's veracity.

Ere long the Ministry broke down from sheer imbecility, or weariness, as it seemed; Gladstone resigning (without losing his majority on general questions) in preference to dissolving Parliament. Lord Randolph Churchill now made his appearance as M. P. for Woodstock and soon began his

brief meteoric career: he had already signalised himself in connection with the foundation of the Primrose League, and was presently made Secretary of State for India. The Sudan expedition was arrested, for the time, on the advice of Sir Redvers Buller; but provision was made for carrying on the railway from Wady Halfa to the Border. In July General Grant—twice President of the United States—died in private life, and somewhat straitened circumstances; and Sir Moses Montefiore passed away in his 101st year. The South African Republic of the Transvaal, being unable to meet its liabilities, suspended payment in July, not foreseeing what a change was about to arise in its financial fortunes. In August Mr. Joseph Chamberlain made a speech at Hull in which, while disclaiming revolutionary intentions, he announced his adherence to a scheme of socialist legislation, including a graduated property-tax and an alteration of the death-duties: principles which, in all probability, he afterwards saw reason to modify. Mr. Gladstone issued a strong manifesto in September, indicative of an acceptance of the principle of federal relations with Ireland; Lord Salisbury replying next month in his famous Newport address and charging Mr. Chamberlain with “baseless libel.”

On the 8th November Mr. W. T. Stead was found guilty of taking a girl from her father's custody; and, although given credit for the purest motives, was told by the judge that he had been, “and I don't hesitate to say will ever be, a disgrace to journalism.”* On the 11th Mr. Gladstone addressed a fervid oration to his friends at Edinburgh, claiming a substantial majority at the coming election, to enable him to deal with questions pertaining to Ireland and other matters which could be adequately dealt with only if his government should be in “a position to act independently of the Irish vote.” The surrender of King Thebaw to General Prendergast virtually led to the extension of British rule to the south-west border of the Chinese Empire; and this was the last important event of the year in which our country was concerned.† I resume the extracts from notes recorded at the moment.

Wednesday, January 21st.—Read a paper by Leslie Stephen on Thackeray's writings. The critic is not impartial, but he does not profess impartiality. He has written with good faith and stern earnestness; his great and deserved reputation must ensure respectful acceptance. Yet the question remains: was Titmarsh—as a writer—a cherisher of tender thought and

* The author of these uncompromising observations was Mr. Justice Lopes, afterwards Lord Ludlow: died January 1900.

† The annexation of Upper Burma was proclaimed on the 1st day of 1886.

genuine sympathy? That he could *adopt* such sentiments was certain, and in doing so he certainly obtained for some of his later writings a popularity which was refused to "Catherine Hayes," "The Fatal Boots," and even to that little masterpiece, "Barry Lyndon." But the Swift-like sentiments and pictures of human nature with which these works abound, did they not spring from some intrinsic mood that was more inbred and spontaneous; and why do they contain so little that is tender, sympathetic, or reverential? It was no want of workmanship that obstructed the reception of those earlier works, in all of which the *technique* is quite as consummate as in "Pendennis" or "Philip." His contemporary, Charles Dickens, was surely not his equal as an artist; yet his manly heartiness took the world by storm and has held possession without a break ever since.

Friday, 30th.—Went to the Haymarket with Kumar to see "Diplomacy." He unhesitatingly expressed his approval of the Bancrofts, which showed good taste in so complete a novice.

Thursday, February 5th.—On the way to District Station this morning saw placards with the miserable story of Gordon's fate.

At a concert in Elvaston Place saw a curious meeting between Halliday and Wm. Tayler*—when I say "meeting," they did not speak. But what must have been their thoughts after an enmity of 40 years!

Wednesday, 11th.—At the club met Col. S., bound for the war in North Africa. A talk about the Sudan, and what was to be done there. S. said it might mean a 2/6 Income-tax for us, and no return to England for two-thirds of them. Let us hope for better luck.

To India Office to speak to F. about my pupil going to the levée. He wants to wear European court dress, but the official view is that ill-str-s Personages would not like it. He is a strange being, this Black Buck, unlike any type of educated Hindu with whom one is acquainted. He resembles neither the religious Brahmin of Bombay, nor the scholarly Babu from Calcutta; still less does he display the somewhat sheepish loyalty of the N.-W. P. Banya—of whom we see samples reading at Gray's Inn—nor the becoming pride of the highborn Rajput Prince. He is bucolic, yet vain and—I fear—not very truthful. Shall inform him that I can present him only in his own handsome native dress.

Sunday, 15th.—To S. John's Wood, to dine with the Wards;

* Poor T. was Commissioner of Patna during the Revolt of Fifty-seven, but did not please the Bengal Government: died some years back. An accomplished man, who published "Recollections" in 2 Vols.

a good dinner and pleasant evening. Mr. Pigott,* examiner of plays : agreeable man : said the only actor who could deliver blank verse properly was Arthur Stirling, the "Friar Lawrence" at the Lyceum.

Saturday, 21st.—My Oriental Tony Lumpkin much perturbed by a D.O. letter from the authorities asking him why he did not go to the Ripon dinner. Drafted a reply, at his request, which he is to sign and deliver.

Sunday, 22nd.—Took pupil to morning-service at the Temple Church : "Stainer in A.;" anthem by Dr. Croft. Foolish sermon on being turned into pillars of salt if we looked back ; made one wish the preacher had been tempted to turn his head on the way to Church ; no salt about him at present, Attic or other.

Tuesday, 24th.—Took pupil to Privy Council Office to hear an Indian appeal tried. Couch, B. Peacock, R. Collier,† present ; with other councillors unknown. For Appt. Leith and Doyne (but no case). For Rspt. J. D. Mayne, not called on for reply.

Wednesday, 25th.—The Kumar insists on going to Messrs. S. with me to order a quantity of coats and waistcoats. Lunch at Athenaeum : a Cabinet Minister, at the same table, said : "How nearly we have the materials of optimism in England, and just a something to defeat it!" He seems very weary of public life : though it cost him, doubtless, much prolonged and strenuous exertion to attain his present position.

Monday, March 2nd.—To St. James's Palace with the Kumar, who was gorgeous in drapery of kincob and satin ; not pleased with himself and thought (most mistakenly) that he would have looked much better in knee-breeches ; after I had presented him we went, by his desire, to Mr. Mendelssohn's where he was photographed in many attitudes and "panel" size.

Thursday, 5th.—Called on Surgeon-General O'C. at the junior ; his conversation inspiriting and interesting. He is acting as medical officer to the platelayers going to Suakim, and says the line can be laid to Berber in three months from the men's landing.

Friday, 6th.—K. sentimental ; says his brother requires him to return to India : probably not true.

Thursday, 12th.—With K. at Privy Council, to hear Mayne ‡

* Pigott, E. F. S. (1823-1895), accomplished and much-respected man of letters.

† Sir R. Couch and Sir Barnes Peacock, ex. C. J. S., Sir R. Collier, afterwards 1st Lord Monkswell : my frequent and friendly antagonist at billiards ; a fine landscape-painter.

‡ Mayne, J. D., formerly a leader of the Madras Bar, and author of a valuable book on Hindu Law.

argue in a Madras appeal (we are reading M's. *Hindu Law* together). Met F. at Ind. Office, who begged me not to return to Jersey if I could open a class in London for native gentlemen students.

Friday, 13th.—Struck by a remark of S. on Carlyle, whom he characterised as "a strong but not deep thinker, afraid of science." It is so true, though so singular, considering that C. began life as a mathematician.

Tuesday, 17th.—Called on Mr. and Mrs. A. P. S. He said it was not true that an outsider could not get work on the London Press; but afterwards admitted that it was only to be done by "shoving," as of the unemployed at Dockyard Gates.

Thursday, 19th.—Fine weather, cold wind from N.-E. My Hindu Lumpkin sick, sulky, and idle.

An idea for a clever fictionist originated in an afternoon visit. An interesting woman loving two men at once—*scenario* as thus—Husband good, but absorbed in business entailing long absences; the other man an old friend whose opinion she values, yet desires the approval of her husband. Misses the one when he is away, yet becomes restless if she does not see the other for any length of time; never harbours an unfaithful thought, yet does not tell the husband of her friend's influence; rather from shyness than from any wilful deceit. A situation likely to end badly?

Wednesday, 25th.—War expected with Russia.

Friday, 27th.—Lord Granville states that the Afghans were in possession of Panjdeh before Sir P. Lumsden got his instructions.*

Sunday, 29th.—Called at M.'s studio to see his new picture. Met Sir C. Gregory and his charming wife—once the beautiful Mrs. Stirling of the Haymarket Theatre. We talked of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which she had lately played "the Nurse:" on being asked how she liked Mary Anderson's Juliet, she fenced by answering that no one under 60 years of age could understand the character. "Well," said I, "you have delighted us for so many years that I hope I may make bold to ask, when will you undertake Juliet?" To which she immediately replied: "I will play the part whenever you will play Romeo to me." [She came out nearly 50 years ago.]

Tuesday, 31st.—The K. has made a bolt of it!

Wednesday, April 1st.—Read what seems a positive assurance of a peaceable solution of the Panjdeh scare, with honourable security for India.†

* A day or two later the matter was seriously discussed in Conference between Lord Dufferin and the Ameer; but the Russian attitude continued eminently unsatisfactory.

† The Native States offered support; but Mr. Gladstone preferred to

Good Friday, 3rd.—To the C.'s. Met Wills, the dramatist—author of *Claudian*, *Charles the First*, etc.—a pleasant Irishman. He said play-writing was a fearful trade; you never could tell whether a piece would hit or miss with the public. Miss C. announced her intention of painting my portrait and getting it hung in the next show at the Academy!

Saturday, 4th.—Back to Jersey, where the next three months passed in an uneventful way: to London again in July.

Sunday, 12th.—Dined at Ath, with Grote, Sir A. Phayre and Don Pascual de Gayangos, an Arabist of distinction, long domiciled in England, and a member of the club.

Saturday, July 18th.—Went to Broadstairs on a visit to old B. I remember going there last about the time of the cholera scare (1832) when my father took me there by river steamer. The little place seemed not much changed.

Sunday, 19th.—Drove with my kind host to Sandwich: A wonderful old place once a seaport, now nearly 4 miles inland though still nominally one of the "Cinq Ports." Visited the old church, St. Clement's; with fine square tower of Norman architecture, dated 1135 A. D. Some early English work in choir; nave with large Perp-windows of Henry the Seventh's time; an old stone altar long used as tombstone of the Spencer family, now restored to its original site and kept beneath communion-table: ancient tiles and brasses. The old fortifications have been converted into smooth promenades, as at Hereford and elsewhere; but there is an old gateway opening on a primitive paved street. One solitary boat lay on the stagnant Stour.

Monday, 20th.—Curious talk with H., a well-known horse-breaker: we discussed the reasons of senility: he attributed it to calcification, and said it might be kept off by eating great quantities of fruit. Also that horses ought to live to 40, but died prematurely from unscientific feeding. They ought not to have so much corn. Satisfactory interview with F. at Ind. Office.

Wednesday, 22nd.—Dined at club with Fergusson.* He praised "an article in the last *Quarterly* on 'the Channel Islands:'" I did not tell him it was mine; but felt the pleasure known as *laudari a laudato*. Pleasant evening in smoking room with Gayangos, Lord. M. and others.

Friday, 24th.—Dined at Queen's Mansions with the dear

accept the olive branch tendered by the Czar. The Russian Government agreed to the neutralisation of the debatable land until delimitation should be concluded, and to refer to the judgment of a neutral State any difference that might be found insoluble.

* Antiquarian and architecture-critic: died 1886.

old Surgeon-General—meeting Colonel T. and P. I. Host told splendid story—in his peculiar way, which in another might be thought over-elaborate—about the encounter of a British gunner and a Sikh swordsman when Lord Auckland met Ranjit Singh in 1838. But the mischief is that this excellent yarn has entirely escaped my memory in writing up this record.

Sunday, 26th.—Back to Jersey, where life resumed its even tenour. I find a note that may be worth preserving, under date *Thursday, 3rd September.*

Went to the old manor-house of the Lempriere family at Maufant; now, and for some generations part of the farm-premises of a Yeoman-race who have bought the property, including the manorial rights of the Seigneur. The old man whom we found in possession was working in his shirt-sleeves, a sort that would have delighted J. S. Mill; a true peasant-proprietor such as must be rare in modern England: handsome, courteous, contented, and somewhat proud, quite ignorant of the world and of books: unable to speak either English or correct French, yet very keen about his own affairs and answering to one's idea of a Scottish Laird of the eighteenth century. He showed us everything and escorted us to the gate hat in hand.*

Thursday, 10th.—Called at Government House and made the acquaintance of my gifted coeval, Mrs. Lynn Linton, whose curious semi-ideal autobiography has just appeared under the title of "Christopher Kirkland." In this the lady has given her experiences of London journalism in the days of Douglas Cooke; but under the travesty of a *male* character. A bright, handsome, well-bred old lady with eyes kind but keen under her spectacles. I made bold to ask her some questions about the curious book above mentioned; to which she was good enough to make some reply. She said she had altered the names of those who had been much mixed up in her life; and pleaded shyness in treating them. The work is therefore of the *Dichtung und Wahrheit* class; the mischief of which is that one cannot say where one begins and the other ends.

Thursday, 17th.—Called on Mrs. Linton at Government House. She thinks Pessimism self-condemned, as a system or school of thought.† The power of criticising and controlling

* I was writing a little semi-historic tale about Jersey during the Civil War, which required some description of this old place.

† These were the halcyon days when people had leisure to be miserable, and when Eduard V. Hartmann's imaginary woefulness was widely relished and enjoyed. Englishmen have tasted the tonic bitter of real trouble since (1900).

the forces of the Planet is exclusively possessed by man, and is a proof and instrument of good. As to the need of belief in a future life to redress the balance of the supposed evil present, she asks: Why not, then, for the wasps that we persecute and kill? Yet they go through their appointed task without audible complaint. I wish I could give her argument in her own dear language. She also holds that sickly people should be kept from marrying by law. [Why not also criminals?]

Friday, September 25th.—With E. and A. to call at L. Manor, a lovely old wainscoted house, well kept and furnished. The mother of the châtelaine, an old Irish woman who had literally risen from the ranks, having been successively married to a private, a sergeant, and a commissioned officer, all in the same regiment. She has extraordinary spirits and a natural flow of witty speech, and told us the drollest yarns. One, about some people who endeavoured to get refined service out of an untrained bog-trotter girl left no details upon the memory; but her account of the cholera at an Indian station where the corps had been quartered is good enough to stand on its merits, without the charm of the narrator's inimitable *verve*. A soldier's wife of her acquaintance, she related, had been to the bazar to get some arrack, which she had so freely sampled as to have quite lost the control of her legs, though her Irish wit was still unsubdued. On her way back to barracks, whom should she meet but the Colonel, riding slowly along with no attendant but his *sais*. She knew that if the C.O. saw her reeling and staggering, he would mark her for condign punishment: so she promptly sate down by the road-side, emitting the most plaintive groans. The Colonel dismounts at once, and to his anxious enquiries receives for answer that the patient has been attacked by Cholera Morbus. To offer his arm and lead her home was the immediate impulse of the kindly commandant; who deposited his burden in the gateway under the unquenchable mirth of the sentries, who had no difficulty in understanding what was the true condition of affairs.

Mrs.—was immediately taken to hospital and put to bed, while an orderly hurried off to fetch the surgeon, who had gone off for a little shooting. He was not, however, very far off or hard to trace; and he promptly hurried back to the supposed case of cholera. The patient was asleep by this time, but the diagnosis was soon made. "A sunstroke," pronounced the medical officer; and ordered the patient's head to be shaved and that she should be kept in bed on tea and toast till his next visit. When he came to pay his morning visit, poor Mrs.—was sitting up with the mien of a Chinese

Joss, and was pronounced convalescent. "Ah, Docthor dear," she cried, as the surgeon approached her couch: "How could ye be so crule as to have me head shaved?" When reminded that she had complained of serious illness, the impenitent Bacchanal made answer: "Sure it was not in me head the cholera was."

Thursday, October 29th.—A lovely day for a great local fête, went to the parade to witness the unveiling of the Don monument. It seems that General Don was Lieutenant-Governor from 1806 to 1813, during which period he did a good deal for the Island, especially in the matter of roads; much against the will (at the time) of a primitive community given to stand upon the ancient ways. He seems to have lived down his unpopularity; and, his fame increasing during the next two generations, a somewhat tardy recognition has taken the form of a substantial vote of £4,000. The result is a poor statue on a monstrosity of a pedestal, and a presentment of the unfortunate hero of which he has been spared the beholding. Such is popular gratitude.

Tuesday, November 3rd.—Went with Sir. A. C. S.* to see the old buildings at S. Ouen, the seat of the historic family of Carteret, for many generations the chief signeurs of the western side of the Island, finally distinguished by the accomplished Minister of King George VI. The house contains much fifteenth century work, and was under careful restoration by the present seigneur, Colonel Malet de Carteret; and the Church, hard by, has had the singular fortune to have been begun in 1130 and finished about seventeen years ago.

Monday, 30th.—Miss Bellis married Mr. Bell.

Great change small incidents display,

The new-made bride can tell,

Whose name—by what the papers say—

Once *Bellis*, now is *Bell*.

December 1st.—Read Sir. H. Maine's *Popular Government*. The learned and brilliant author does not appear quite just to the fact that Democracy after all must be the proper ideal for an educated community, no matter what there may be to say against it in practice. Doubtless, discipline is needed, under any form of Government whatever; but—so far as consists with preservation of due order—an ultimate appeal to the wants of citizens has to be provided: to use the old figure, the Pyramid is best founded on the broadest base. As to the particular form of consultation known as "Referendum," where no law is passed until it has been accepted by a certain majority in the constituencies, it has at least this recommendation, that, wherever it has been tried, it has tended to reduce

* Sir Arthur Cowel Stepney, Bart., formerly M.P.
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the bulk of new legislation. Perhaps Maine, having been for years a professed lawmaker, may not see the advantage; but surely changes in the social organism should do no more than keep pace with changes in surroundings; and a political constitution should grow less by artificial treatment than by natural exigencies and mutual concessions.

Thursday, 24th.—A visit from Rev. R. B., a curious type of human nature; learned, archaeologic, even versed in anthropology; yet unaware that the Jewish Scriptures—which he reads in the original Hebrew—are not authoritative on science or history. Made him a present of the *Revised Version* which he had not seen.

Friday, Xmas Day.—A lovely morning; roused by tumult over head of young people examining their stockings, exposed overnight to the benefactions of the curiously named "*Santa Claus*."*

Our Christmas tree was very presentable when lit up at night; but we were boycotted for some imputed epidemic. So, those who were bidden being found unworthy, we pursued the consecrated plan of sending out into the highways; and we had a numerous assembly of the children from adjacent cottages. They were much dazzled at first, but went away in great glee, laden with gifts and goodies.

I find this festive season more of a trial every year; less a season of piety than of mince-piety; and much clouded by various anxieties.

There are few books noted as having appeared during the year of war and excitement thus concluded. But I find a note upon Froude's *Life of Carlyle* (1882-4) which may suggest a not unimportant enquiry. I mean the doctrine about Heroes imputed—quite correctly—to the sage of Chelsea and applied to life in general by his disciple and biographer.

If great men are the creators of all that is good in their respective eras, it is evident that we have only to learn from Carlyle & Co. how to identify them and then let them work their beneficent will.

If, on the other hand, they are only the product and best fruit of their era, then the light that is seen upon their faces is at best thrown from without, and not always clearly visible.

In this latter case all competent citizens have a claim to take part in the direction of affairs; and universal suffrage, with or without Referendum, is only a question of time. When knowledge is becoming general, the time is at hand.

A second point of importance is as to the power of imaginative literature. No doubt it may be argued that, in the hand

* *Qu.*—How can a male Saint be Santa, or in what language was he so canonised?

of a man like Carlyle, the pen idealises all that it touches. His Mirabeau, his Cromwell, his Frederic, what are they? Not photographs, surely: idealisations, rather.

One is reminded of a saying of Hugo's, remarkably profound for a youngster of 22, as he was when he put it on paper. "Below the surface of the actual world exists an ideal world full of glory for those who have learned to see by contemplation the thing that in all things lies beyond."

That is not really a defence of Poetry, as Sidney or Shelley might have put it, but it contains a doctrine of surpassing interest, if only we find it to be true. It may, perhaps, turn out that the Hero, or Great Man, who is represented to us as the creator of his era is rather the idealised product of a mind which has contemplated the era *after* the accomplishment of its facts and shares the *vision* of a truth below the surface, together with the faculty of giving to that truth its appropriate expression. To such, at least, the Hero may seem the incarnation of his Age.

CHAPTER IV.

1886.

This year was principally marked, in the British Islands, by the acceptance of the "Home Rule" cause by Mr. Gladstone and the bulk of his followers. Some of the more prominent of these, however, broke off on this subject; and on the last day of May occurred one of the most memorable moments in modern political life. On that occasion Mr. Chamberlain led a band of malcontents, of whom 46 determined that they would oppose the second reading of the Bill to provide "a legislative body to sit at Dublin for the conduct of Irish business." As this is not the place for political controversy, it will only be necessary to observe that this event was the actual commencement of the new party system; amounting virtually to an approximation of the "right centre" "and left centre," and involving the absorption of the Extreme Right and the temporary ostracism of the Extreme Left which still characterises British politics.* The Bill was rejected in the Commons, and Parliament was dissolved before midsummer. The general election that followed was decided against the Gladstonians owing to the defection of the "Liberal Unionists," as the new party of concentration began to be called. The result being that the Cabinet resigned in July, and a Ministry was formed by Lord Salisbury which was in the nature of a Coalition. Mr. Goschen, however,

* Written in January 1900. Party politics have not yet returned to the old lines of Whig and Tory; probably never will.

was the only prominent Liberal to take high office: Lord Hartington only offering general support.* Other matters of minor public interest were a riot in Spring, in the West End, with destruction of property—this was attributed to neglect or mismanagement on the part of the Police, whose chief, Sir E. Henderson, resigned and was succeeded by General Sir Charles Warren. In the early part of the London season, too, an exhibition of Indian and Colonial produce was opened by the Queen in person; and was popularly known as "The Colinderies."

The diary proceeds;—touching but lightly on merely personal occurrences, of which some were tragic enough, yet not such as to obscure one's whole outlook upon the world.

Monday, January 11th.—The Jersey Banking Company stopped payment, and the wildest rumours prevailed. De Gruchy and Co. said to be implicated; liabilities and deposits—many of poor people's money—thought to amount to half a million. A great event in a small community; much indignation expressed against the Managing Director. Truly a "Black Monday" for the Island.

Thursday, 14th.—Marvellous behaviour of a London editor: generally this is a courteous class, though often tried and worried, doubtless. But this man's conduct is outrageous. After accepting—indeed commissioning—an article and keeping it nearly 14 months, he has made me re-write it, then hacked it to pieces, printed a portion of it, then kept it back once more, and now "hesitates to use it because a short letter on a similar subject has appeared in a weekly paper." Indignantly demanded return of M.S.S.

Friday, 22nd.—To Oxford by invitation from Sir M. W. to work at Indian Institute. Put up at the Mitre, and went for a walk, looking in at Wadham Quad, where I noticed a bruise on the masonry of a window of my rooms which I seemed to recognise after an absence of 43 years.

The old coffee room of the Mitre, too, seemed very familiar, though the inmates were of a different type. Oneself, old, grey, careful paterfamilias, a pair of bagmen intent on business, and—greatest novelty of all—two cadets from the military college, in smart uniforms, drinking "vintage port," made in the city about a week ago.

Furious letter from my editor.

Friday, 29th.—Conversazione at Ind. Inst. begun by a Lecture by W. on Indian Buddhism; not at all lively, I saw some of the audience asleep. The Inst. a pretentious building, by

* Mr. Goschen did not assume office until the first month of the following year, when Lord R. Churchill resigned the Exchequer. Lord Hartington described the situation as a coalition of Party but not of Government.

Mr. Basil Champneys ; it must be a trial for an architect to design a public monument in such a scene. The ground-floor contains material for a museum, and the first floor is devoted to an excellent library of which the nucleus is formed from the gift of a famous scholar, Rev. Solomon Cesar Malan, [redacted] ent of Broad Windsor.*

Tuesday, February, 2nd.—To convocation; defeat of Sir M. W.'s two amendments to Statute on Oriental Studies:—

1. That Persian should not take rank as a "classical" subject along with Sanskrit and Arabic, and :

2. If it were so to rank, then it should be coupled with comparative Iranian grammar.

The second, at the least, appeared reasonable. Modern Persian is no more a classical language than modern Greek: but, taken with the grammar and philology of the Avesta, it would form an interesting branch of Aryan work.

M. W. has hinted a desire to go away for a year leaving the Institute in my hands. It would be pleasant if made worth one's while.

Monday, 8th.—Called on the Vice-Chancellor at Balliol to ask permission to take private pupils.† He was civil, but seemed weary. There are a number of droll stories of him, most of which are public property. He has the cherubic acidity which was such a characteristic of the late Lord Westbury.

Thursday, March, 4th.—Called on Warden of Wadham, who showed me my Matriculation (autumn of 1842). It appeared that, at the age of 17, I had been the first in my batch. He invited me to have my name restored to the college-books.

Thursday, 11th.—Visit from E. C. H. and his handsome son in my office: the young H. is President of the Union—or just vacating—a young man of great promise.‡ After lunch Max Müller called, and, as usual, was pleasant and interesting. M. W. lectured in the evening; his second on Buddhism: pleased to find him assigning a rational chronology to the sage and his system.

Friday, 12th.—Paid my fees to college and university: elected member of Union. Dr. Tylor was good enough to take me round the University Museum.

Saturday, 13th.—Dined with the Max Müllers.

Tuesday, 16th.—*The Messiah* at Sheldonian: the Oratorio as

* Born at Geneva, 1812, a Prebendary of Salisbury and widely-travelled linguist of, 1891.

† The famous Mr. B. Jowett, who did so much for his College, producing so many able men, of whom some are now serving the country in high places: died 1893. [Known to undergraduates as "Towler."]

‡ The now popular writer known as Antony Hope.

a whole tedious to modern taste. Grand effect of Hallelujah chorus.

Wednesday, 17th.—A concert, at which a violin-solo by a grandson of the Queen's.

Sunday, 21st.—Spent the afternoon at M.'s tobacco parliament. Some talk there with Thorold Rogers,* Prof. Rhys [redacted] late, also Prof. Stoddart, an interesting Yankee scholar. [redacted] with Warden at Wadham: port wine of 1854; wonderfully fruity for its age.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Back to Jersey: Bagot Manor, an old house modernised, with a large kitchen-garden and green-house.

April.—Weather cold and showery: garden backward.

Read Greville's new series (1837-f.f.) a valuable record of minor political and social affairs in the early part of Queen Victoria's reign which I only knew as a boy: faded and forgotten party politics; and glimpses of some memorable men. G. an able and fundamentally *modest* man, with a sound appreciation of the great Duke that does him credit: the great Duke, who was a most masculine creature, not always correctly valued. G.'s portraits remind one of Clarendon: that of Lord George Bentinck, in particular, masterly beyond anything of our day. Of course one can't take all the interest in those past politics and personages that they caused at the time; and "the gruncher" appears somewhat in the character of a Resurrectionist. Yet he does make these subjects so interesting that one learns to admire him for the skill and subdued sympathy involved in the feat. And he saw deeper than most English aristocrats of his day into the misery that inspired the discontent of the Irish peasantry.

Tuesday, 20th.—Coming home from the club saw a pretty episode. A poor tatterdemalion was playing the concertina at a street-corner and some children came and gathered round. One of them, about four years old, began dancing to the music in an artless but serious manner, doing steps instinctively without taking her feet off the pavement, with all the solemn, unconscious grace of childhood. The vagrant was touched; and, bending down without a pause in his mechanical and mercenary performance, watched the baby's pretty movement with a smile that quite shone through his squalid surface. It was nought, and yet it was a sort of revelation.

Tuesday, 27th.—Sir George Campbell called, and we took a drive.† He seemed much interested in the old feudal laws and institutions, and I handed him some notes.

* Ex-member for Bermondsey, afterwards Professor of Political Economy in University. A robust intellect trained to deep historical research: died, 1890.

† Sir George was formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, afterwards M. P., an able man with a somewhat tedious voice and manner, which probably handicapped him as a Senator.

Wednesday, 28th.—The Governor and Mrs. W. dined with us, also Lady L., the Vice-Déan, and others. We had a Scottish waiter to assist; who, when we expected him to raise the cover of the soup-tureen, whispered audibly—"Are ye no gawn to say grace?" The Vice-Dean took the hint—Sir George came in after dinner, seeming—as I thought—oppressed by the shadow of a coming dissolution, but showing acuteness and originality in his views of men and measures.

Saturday, May 1st.—Back to Southampton with Campbell and accompanied him to Southwell House, where I was his guest.

Tuesday, 4th.—To Oxford once more: the city and gardens in the full loveliness of a late Spring.

Thursday, 6th.—Grand weather: sate in garden with Prof. Max Müller, who was pleasant and chatty.

Monday, 10th.—Summoned to I. O. by telegram. A critical moment, perhaps.

Tuesday, 11th.—Called on Vice-Chancellor, and ascertained that there was no prospect of any post in the University in connection with my subjects. Sir M. makes no definite intimation in regard to the Institute, and I have no pupils.

Wednesday, 12th.—Went to London and called on—at the I. O. He was out, so left a note. Went to the "Colinderies" and met T. who was showing round two Princesses.* Returning to I. O.; found—, who asked if I could take charge of a Hindu noble, from the Bombay side? I agreed to try it for a month. Back to Oxford—rather tired—to take leave.

Wednesday, 19th.—Conversazione at South Kensington given by Pharmaceutical Society. A curious affair: we can't all be Druggists. The only person we knew was T., but there was a band, and the Museum looked its best with lights and crowd.

Friday, 21st.—Rebellion of pupil, who declares that he had promised himself to an older acquaintance and will go back to India if he can't have his own way. There has been a muddle at the office, and I will have no more to say to him.

Monday, 24th.—To I. O. where—was very friendly, and an amicable arrangement was entered into. But some of these Asiatics are very tortuous.

Monday, 31st.—Took E. and A. to lunch with Col. S. at the Tower, where he is commanding Guard of the Coldstreams. He showed us the Regalia and Armoury. Then took them to Mrs. Lynn Linton's and passed the rest of the day with Morison at the Athenæum.† He is very attractive; and the state of his health gives him pathos.

* Sir John William Gayer, C.I.E., formerly Inspector-General of Prisons, N.-W. Provinces of India.

† James Cotter Morison, author of *Life and Times of S. Bernard*, and

Thursday, June 3rd.—Back to Jersey with E.

Monday, 7th.—A man, called "a Philistine," answered "Yes; that, I suppose, is why I am overthrown by the jaw of an ass." Which calls to mind a story of Jowett that has not—so far as I know—been published. He took Miss Jex. Bláke into dinner, and manifested relief when the ladies left the room at the conclusion of the meal. His host asking him if he had not enjoyed the conversation, was answered—"Oh! she is a learned lady and knows that Lex is Latin for 'law'; I fancy she infers that Jex is Latin for 'Jaw.'"

Thursday, July 15th.—Read *Marmion*: What is the charm? good poetry (though it contains the only lines of Sir Walter Scott that have attained the rank of household words); the verses with the verse, and the verse hampers the verse. But the *spirit* is grand; and the introductions to each canto are the perfection of that kind of writing. Scott, instinctively perhaps, found out that evil can only be held at arm's length by dislocating self, and ceasing to look at the world from the autocentric point. Always objective!

Monday, 19th.—Reading the "Faery Queen" lately, was much struck with the strange mixture of gorgeousness and austerity that must have made up Spenser's "humour": a medley of crudity, affectation, puritanism and splendour. His Red-Cross Knight is an ideal type of Elizabethan England.

Friday, 30th.—George Meredith's "Diana" very able, but surely too obscure in its diction: full of oracle and epigram of which the point is not always easy to discover: E. G. "The worldling holds to-day but not the morrow. Us too he holds for the day, to punish us if we have temporal cravings. He scatter's his gifts to the abject, tossing to us rebels bare dog-biscuit. But the life of the spirit is beyond his region, we have our morrow in his day when we crave nought of him." A meaning is to be found, but it does not represent ease for the novel-reader. The book strikes one as full of great qualities, but deficient in small charms.*

Tuesday, August 10th.—To Liverpool with F, who is to go to Canada by Allan line.†

Wednesday, 11th.—D. S., an old schoolmate at Anstey's, Rugby, called at our Hotel early and took us to an Exhibition called, by local humour, "The Shipperies." A real schooner

one of the founders of the *Fortnightly Review*. He had a fine house and Library at Hampstead, but died prematurely in 1888: *multis ille bonis flebilis occidit*.

* This is the story of Mrs. Norton alluded to above in noting Hayward's death: its accuracy is strongly questioned.

† My son Frank, going out to his kinsfolk; never to return, poor boy.

and lighthouse in the grounds. S. the same bright good-natured fellow one recollects five and forty years ago. We dined with him and his family at night. We had never been at Liverpool before ; it struck one as an extended Bristol ; full of such graven images as made one wish the 2nd clause of the Decalogue were better observed.

Thursday, 12th.—We took F. on board the "Polynesian" off Birkenhead and left him there.

Wednesday, 18th.—At Mold, North Wales. Yesterday called on an old military acquaintance living in a house built by Edward I. The dining-room had a wagon-vaulted ceiling, with a stout hook embedded in the masonry from which a hostile official was hanged during the Wars of the Roses. Spent to-day at Chester, looking at the Cathedral and the "Rows." Dean Howson said to have spent £ 70,000 on judicious repairs to the fine old Church.

Monday, 23rd.—After a few days in a lovely cottage on the banks of the Dovey was involved in a painful disaster : my daughter drowned, leaving a husband and two children.

Friday, 27th.—M.'s funeral at Brookwood ; no mutes, trappings, or frivolous expenditure.

" Around your tomb the Surrey fir-trees rise,
Marie ! And flying shadows cross the place ;
Your fitter shrine is in our memories
Holding your unforgotten youth and grace ;
And on that fond imaginary tomb
This flower I lay, a little while to bloom."

Sunday, 29th.—Returned to Jersey.

Saturday, October 9th.—Went on a short visit to Colonel and Mrs. C. at Parkstone. Looked over Branksea Island, once the estate of the too-celebrated Colonel W. of the 16th Lancers. Curious castle and grounds belonging to Mr. Cavendish Bentinck.

Monday, 11th.—To Isle of Purbeck in yacht. Visiting Studland, a lovely embowered village, with a Norman Church, built soon after the battle of Hastings but still in use as a place of worship.

Tuesday, 12th.—Back to Oxford : Morfill, Master of Balliol, R. Poole, and Warden.

Sunday, 17th.—To S. Mary's ; interesting—rather sceptical sermon by—. In afternoon to Morfill's Tabagie, meeting Rhys and Rogers. The latter told a story of a Western Magnate seeing a print of the Madonna in a cottage, with a Pope or Saint kneeling at her feet. The noble Lord said something about superstition : " Lor ! No," said the good woman of the house ; " that's a lady as don't want to marry, but she tells the good gentleman to take her sister. 'Ave

Maria,' ses she, as you see it printed at the bottom." T. R. told the story with a skill probably derived from much practice.

Dined in Hall at Balliol.

Monday, 25th.—Forenoon at India Office, looking at the portraits, by Reynolds, Lawrence, Zoffany, etc. In the afternoon to an interesting meeting of R. H. Soc., at the Record Office in Fetter Lane. Mr. Hubert Hall read a paper on Domesday Book, and Lord Aberdare made a very good address.

Tuesday, 26th.—Back to Oxford.

Friday, November 5th.—To the new theatre, where Mr. Benson was playing *Othello* to Beerbohm Tree's *Iago*: good acting with modest accessories. Benson struck us as too declamatory. But one often feels inclined to agree with C. Lamb about Shakespere; i.e., that he reads better than he plays. Yet it is undoubted that he wrote chiefly to fill his theatre and showed no consciousness that he was producing literature, as he does in the Sonnets. And think of the theatre of his day, a scaffold without scenery; and Desdemona or Ophelia rendered by blackguard boys of fifteen.

Thursday, 11th.—Read Oliphant's *Ancient English*: a book of much instruction and pleasure; only that the author expresses somewhat exaggerated sorrow at what he calls the neglect of our language and its "romancising" in the reign of Henry III, and his son, when the higher classes in England had more important work in hand than the academic preservation of the vernacular. And it is just the pleasant blending of Platt-Deutsch and Romance in our speech that forms the prosperity of our literature. But the exclusive pursuit of any study tends to narrow the mind; and specialists like this author learn to love Bede and Layamon more than they do Milton or Gibbon. Then, again (for plain folks), what a confusion to find these writings, that are unintelligible without grammar and dictionary, called "English!" What on earth has it in common with what is known to us by that name? On the other hand there had been for years an accepted name for it which everyone understood, and which, quite correctly enough, represented it as a combination of the dialects of the Anglians of the East and the Saxons of the South.

Sunday, 14th.—Dined with Rev. Ll. Thomas, at Jesus, and afterwards sate in his rooms with Lindsay, Grose of Queen's, and other agreeable company. The host had composed a Sonnet upon the learned Professor of History, of which I obtained a copy; it is illustrative of the last preceding entry of this diary. [Mr. T. shy about showing the lines; but L. wrote them out for me, from memory.]

A PORTRAIT.

I am Sir Oracle ; when my tongue wags
 —Aye ! or my beard—let no man call his soul
 His own, or flout me with the filthy rags
 Of an opinion free from my control ;
 Let Shelley-chatterers style my gait a roll,
 And witless upstarts criticise my bags :
 I am English, Saxon ; rough as Keltic crags,
 One grand historic rude self-centered whole.
 Ancient is modern, modern ancient too,
 I have said so myriad times : who doubts it ? Fool !
 I want some nincompoop to state his view,
 I'll smash him, flat as Froude or Martin Rule,
 Yea ! by my halidom, certes, God wot.
 " I am thé Oxford Witenagemot."

Thursday, 18th.—Dined at Queen's with M. Afterwards he and Dr. Birkbeck Hill came to my quarters. Dr. H. observed that Croker, however inaccurate in a few minor matters, was a valuable source of information, quite unjustly discredited by Macaulay.

Thursday, 25th.—(In London) Afternoon *tête à tête* with Lady—who made a noticeable remark on the decay of the feudal aristocracy : "It was our own fault : we went too fast. We thought it would last for ever."

Sunday, 28th.—To S. Bride's, morning service, and lunch at the Vicarage ; then A. H. went with me to Paddington, where I took the G. W. R. for Slough ; and there I dined and slept. My host, as usual, full of knowledgeable talk and courteous consideration. An unbroken friendship of nearly half a century.

Monday, 20th.—Dined with Ralston at Arts Club : * Forbes Robertson, Prof. Douglas, two Mahomedan nobles from Haidarabad, a Russian General, two natives of the Sandwich Islands, etc. Much after-dinner international speech making. The strangest medley, but very agreeable. The Russian made the sensible remark that national misunderstandings arose from nations not understanding one another : put in French it made a passable epigram.

Wednesday, December 1st.—Undertook some lives for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, returning to Jersey by the Southampton boat.

* William Shedden, assumed the name of Ralston ; born 1828, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge ; called to the Bar, but never practised ; employed in British Museum Library ; died 1889. Spent some time in Russia and published works on the History and Literature of that country, with translations of some of the writings of Turgenieff.

[The rest of the month passed at home without event. The weather was fine, and some reading and writing went on. We sat up till midnight on the 31st and then threw open the front-door to "let the New Year in." The night being clear and still, I looked at the far-off splendour and wondered if the sphere's mysterious calm concealed sorrow in proportion to our own—Salis, the Swiss Guard, says :

"Klag ist ein miston im Chore der Sfären."

I have noted during the year some good ideas on Pessimism, a curious philosophy, "made in Germany," from oriental materials; repudiated by the best French thinkers; and not seriously taken in England.

The *St. James's Gazette* had a thoughtful word or two (2nd January 1886) in an article on Dante :—

"Dante makes melancholy dismally punished in Purgatory; though his own interior gaiety . . . is so interior—and its outward aspect so grim—that he is vulgarly considered to have himself been a sinner in this sort . . . The good and brave heart is always gay; in this sense, that, although it may be afflicted by its own troubles and by those of others, it refuses in the darkest moment to consent to despondency . . ." And elsewhere the writer formulates a simple equation that is not always borne in mind;—"Life is joy," which is explained by the expansion, "In proportion as life is high and pure it becomes gay."

Mrs. Lynn Linton has well said :—

"Most of us take what we choose to call a 'melancholy pleasure' in making ourselves needlessly unhappy . . . We go back to the scene of departed joys that we may become pessimists by comparing the radiant. Then with the mournful. Now; and we mow down all the humble growths of satisfaction and mild enjoyment which had begun to make the withered pastures tolerably green again . . ." [*Paston Carew*.]

Yet it was Dante who first proclaimed that a sorrow's crown of sorrow was remembering happier things. Poor Alfred de Musset, *polisson* as he often seems, has eagerly combated this opinion in his "Souvenir," a poem nevertheless written in that condition of wounded vanity which—especially to a Frenchman—is a source of very deep suffering: his words may be thus expressed in English :—

"Why saidst thou, Dante, that 'tis grief's worst sting

To think, in sorrow, on past happiness ?

What spasm from thee such bitter cry could wring,

Such insult to distress ?

Is then the light less certain or less glad,

And, when night falls, forgotten in the gloom ?

Is it from thee, Spirit sublimely sad,
That we receive that doom ?
No ! by the splendour of yon tranquil moon !
Not from thy true heart blasphemy so void ;
A happy memory is a brighter boon
Than passing bliss enjoyed,"
ein of our own manly Dryden ;—
Not Heaven itself over the past has power,
For what has been has been ; and I have had my hour."

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ART. II.—THE TEMPLES AND SHRINES OF NIKKO.

Nikkō wo minai uchi wa
"Kekko" to iū na.

Que no ha visto á Sevilla
No ha visto á una maravilla

HALF the Globe lies between Nikko and fair Seville; so it is somewhat strange to find the tribute to both places embodied in almost identical words. Few of us have seen them both and can make any comparison; but, having spent some time among the wonderful Japanese shrines hidden on the wooded hills of Nikko, I naturally want to persuade others to visit them too. To see all the temples would take weeks; to describe them in a few pages is an impossibility. If I could reproduce here the painted photographs which are so artistic and cost so little, I might be able to convey a fairly correct idea of the wonders of architecture and decoration; but without them I fear I am courting failure.

Nikko is the name both of the district and of the town. The district lies about 100 miles north of Tokio, the capital, but the town and two valleys leading up to Lake Chusenji and Mount Nantaizan are the interesting parts and are visited yearly by thousands of Japanese, who find there objects on which to expend their piety, reverence, and love of beauty in full. It was first discovered in the eighth century by a Buddhist devotee, Shodo Shonin. Led by visions of a mountain on the summit of which lay a holy spot, he penetrated into the valley, and lived the life of a hermit, what is now known as Nikko town, preparing himself by austerities and prayer for his quest. After many unsuccessful attempts he at last reached the great Lake and succeeded in climbing the mountain overlooking it. Inspired by the belief that this wild region must be the abode of the Gods, he built a temple on the slopes of Nantaizan and returned to Nikko, where he eventually died. Before his death he founded the monastery of Hombo, which has been maintained to the present date under the name of Manwaughi, in memory of its founder. As years went on other Buddhist temples were built round it, and Shinto temples also appeared, for the two national religions existed side by side through many centuries in perfect accord, borrowing doctrine and ceremonial from each other. The Abbots of the monastery exercised jurisdiction and control over all the Buddhist temples in the neighbourhood, and the

ew in sanctity and importance until the year 1616, an event occurred which has made it now the most sacred place of pilgrimage in Japan.

At that time Japan was under the rule of the Tokugawa shoguns. It is now generally known that the Mikado has always been, in theory at least, the temporal as well as the spiritual King of Japan, and up to the 12th century he was undoubtedly the Sovereign Ruler, and the Shogun his Commander-in-Chief. In later years the Mikado was reduced to a nonentity and the Shogun became the actual King and was treated as such both by the people and by foreigners until the middle of the present century. This view of his position was strengthened by the conditions under which the Mikado lived. His claim to divine descent is even now firmly believed in by the mass of the people. He lived in the strictest seclusion, was kept shrouded from public gaze when he left the precincts of his Palace for religious purposes, and was so holy that his feet might not even touch the ground. To this day nobody may look down on him, and when, quite lately, he consented to pass through the Foreign Settlement in procession, strict orders had to be given by the Consuls that no one was to take up a position in any building above the ground floor. The people of Japan, therefore, in the Middle Ages knew nothing of him. To them the Shogun was King. Their great lords, the Daimyos, went to his Court every year to report on their districts and give security for their loyalty, and his emissaries brought the sentence of execution by Harakiri to those nobles who had incurred royal displeasure. Such being the Shogun's position, it will be understood why, when Iyeyasu, the greatest of them all, desired to be buried at Nikko, a memorial was erected to him worthy of a great King. That it is the most splendid memorial ever raised to King or Warrior, is due to the artistic perfection of the religion that hallowed it.

When Buddhism was introduced into Japan from China, through Corea, at the end of the 6th century, it brought with it a ritual already formulated and embellished with all that was perfect in Chinese art. At that time the Japanese, under the influence of Shintoism, their national religion, were a simple people, ignorant of any of the arts for which they are now celebrated. Shintoism has been described by Sir Ernest Satow, the authority on the subject, as a "compound of ancestor-worship and nature-worship with no moral teaching beyond what is contained in the exhortation to follow your natural impulses and obey the Mikado's decrees." Its tenets did not permit of any form of temple but the simplest construction: there were no images of the Gods and very few emblems;

no decoration, no carving, no painting, the severest everywhere. To this day a pure Shinto temple is lines as primitive as a fetish hut in Africa and is a ornament as a Non-conformist Chapel. Buddhism elaborate ceremonial and beauty of decoration came as a tion to the Japanese. It was adopted as the Court religio almost at once, and from that time Japanese have been perfecting the arts that it brought.

This conception of Buddhism will seem strange to those of us who know of it only as a purified Hinduism; but it must be remembered that the religion was already twelve hundred years old. It took no longer for primitive Christianity to develop into the Holy Catholic Church. But the parallel is not exact, for Japanese Buddhism is a retrogression as well as a development. Siddartha had disappeared; he was no longer the Buddha, but had developed as many avatars as Vishnu or Siva. Of these the purest are Amida, essential Godhead, with no mark of humanity except his form, who dimly suggests Brahma and is generally represented sitting with hands resting in his lap and eyes bent down in abstraction. Shaka, who usually appears with a hand raised in the act of exhortation, most nearly represents the original Buddha, and of him one meets several forms, Dainichi, Yakushi and others. Jizō, a very human avatar, as a priest with a shaven head, is the most popular, his figure being frequently met with by country roadsides. These three preserve the appearance of the original Buddha; being Hindu in type of face and all wearing the abstracted look associated with the early conception. Sakya is, of course, Sakya Muni and Amida has been identified by Sir Ernest Satow with Amitabha, the earliest metaphysical conception of the Buddha, dating back to the great catholic movement in Buddhism known as the Mahāyāna system and introduced in Northern India about the first century.

Besides these three there are a host of minor gods, most of them derived from the Hindu Pantheon, in idea at least, and dating back to the pre-Chinese period, too. These are represented by grotesque and monstrous images with nothing Japanese about them in face or dress—almost exact reproductions of the polytheistic forms of the early centuries. Some, again, are simpler and only quaint in appearance, and belong probably to a much later date; possibly being Japanese in origin. The most important of these minor gods are Fudo, the God of Wisdom, Kwannon in his or her many forms as thousand-handed, horse-headed, etc., Benten, the God of Luck, and many others—all the natural outcome of the necessity of making religion intelligible to the mass of

humanity. One attribute of Hinduism has fortunately never appeared in Japanese Buddhism at least. The nameless horrors that are crowded into the decoration on a Hindu temple find no place in a Japanese temple, the wanton riot of naturalism being entirely absent from any of the cults into which the religion has developed since its introduction.

There were other noticeable features of Buddhism in the 17th century. It had absorbed some of the few distinctive emblems of Shintoism, just as Christianity borrowed the ceremonies of ancient Rome and Mahommed annexed the sanctity of the Kaabah for his own creed; and further it was living in such peace and amity with the disestablished religion that the minor gods of both became confused, so that it is now impossible in many cases to separate them. Such, then, was Buddhism when Iyeyasu's shrine was built, and its supremacy remained undisputed during the whole of the 18th century and even up to the last few years. When Iyemitsu, the third Shogun of the Tokugawa Dynasty, died, in 1654, he also was buried at Nikko, and a shrine only less magnificent than Iyeyasu's was erected in his honour. Temple after temple full of the most beautiful works of art rose round the shrines, and the great Daimyos vied with one another in enriching Nikko with a wealth of devotional offerings. The end came in 1868. The Mikado, supported by foreign influence, threw off the yoke of the Shogunate, and the State Church went down in the crash; Buddhism was disestablished, and Shintoism regained the position it had held thirteen hundred years before. Fortunately the wave of reaction only touched the beauties of Nikko and did not sweep them away. During the civil war preceding the change, the opposing armies, at the intercession of the Abbot, avoided Nikko, and when it was over, the purification of the temples did not descend into Vandalism. The shrine of Iyeyasu alone was disturbed. The Images of the Gods, the utensils and emblems of Buddhist ceremonial, were removed, and priests of the Shinto faith now conduct their services in its precincts, but no attempt was made to destroy the beauty of decoration, though it was opposed to every canon of the revived religion. Iyemitsu's shrine was not touched, and there, as well as in other temples in Nikko, the Buddhist priests continue their services as before.

It has been necessary to say something about the Government and religions before attempting a description of the place, otherwise the reader would have been puzzled at the mixture of Buddhism and Shintoism found on the same spot; but now I will proceed with the main subject of this article. The town of Nikko lies, at a height of two thousand feet, on the sides of steep hills sloping down to the cleft or ravine—it is

little more—in which flows the Daiya-gawa stream. It can be reached now by railway; but the old approach was by two roads leading from Utsonomiya in the plains. These roads, the Reiheishi Kaido and the Nikko Kaido, which meet about four miles out, are a fitting approach for the wonderful shrines, being magnificent avenues of closely planted *Cryptomeria*. Imagine, instead of our straggling banyans, gigantic trees 10 to 20 feet in circumference, growing straight up with hardly a branch for the first 50 feet and often rising to a height of more than 200 feet. Their stately columns are set within a few feet of each other, sometimes almost touching, while their branches over-arch the road, so that, gazing down through the vista, one is reminded of the nave of a Gothic cathedral with its row of lofty pillars ending in the narrowing proportions of the choir.

Passing up this avenue, along which in former days the envoys of the Mikado brought the yearly offerings to the shrine of Iyeyasu, one emerges into the stony lower town of Nikko, at the other end of which is the Daiya-gawa stream. This is spanned by the Sacred Bridge, a beautiful wooden structure covered with dark red lacquer, which is reserved for the use of the Royal Family. It is a flat arch resting on massive granite supports that stand on, but are not attached to, the rocks below. This system of construction is universal in Japan, the heaviest buildings being supported on large flat stones on the surface of the ground. Crossing the stream by another bridge, one climbs the steep hill opposite, and a few minutes' walk brings one to the broad road leading up to the Main Shrine. On the right is the Manwanghi monastery, founded by Shodo Shonin; on the left is an Imperial residence and at the end is Iyeyasu's shrine. Looking towards it, one sees the gate nearly hidden among the *Cryptomeria* which cover the steep hill on which the Shrine is built. As one approaches it, the delicate outline of the Torii, spanning the path, is seen between two gigantic trees. The Torii is a structure peculiar to Japan. In its most elaborate form, as seen here, it consists of two uprights with a cross piece resting on the top, the ends of which project and are curved upwards. A few feet below is another cross piece which is let into the uprights, sometimes projecting, and is connected with the upper beam by a bar in the centre. This Torii is about 30 feet high, built of granite, the uprights being duo-lithic, and has on its centre bar a tablet engraved with an inscription stating that it was presented by one of the Royal Princes. The Torii was originally a Shinto religious emblem, though no one has been able to explain its significance satisfactorily, and in that form it consists of two uprights and one straight cross piece only. Buddhism

elaborated it into its present graceful pattern, and it is now found spanning roads leading to any sacred spot.

Passing up a flight of steps through the Torii, the first building one notices is a five-storeyed Pagoda such as is always found associated with a correct Buddhist temple. As the Pagoda is an extreme development of Buddhist temple architecture, and as its form is more or less familiar to most people, it will serve as an example of what that architecture is. It must be borne in mind that Buddhist temple architecture is as distinct from Japanese domestic architecture as a Cathedral is from a suburban villa. Mr. Chamberlain, of Tokyo, the great authority on things Japanese speaks of it as having its origin here in India. If so, it has disappeared as completely as the religion itself, for Hindu temples differ from Japanese temples in form, material and decoration—in fact in everything. In the first place stone is never used in the temple structure, though there is often a granite platform and steps leading up to it. Every part of the structure is of massive wooden beams. The basement is a frame of short uprights and strong connecting cross-pieces on which the floor is laid, and from this frame the strong main uprights of the building rise and are joined at the top by beams. There are no real walls, the space between the uprights being filled with light wood work that carries no weight and is pierced and carved in decoration. Half way up a lower roof projects like an immense over-hanging eave and sweeps down in the curve familiar to everyone from pictures of pagodas. Its weight is carried by a series of joists, one above the other resting on, and projecting from, a huge beam in the structure, in the form of a cantilever. The main uprights continue above this roof, being joined higher up by more cross-beams and on these rests the weight of the main roof, which is in the regular pattern of a straight ridge. This also sweeps down and outwards nearly to the full extent of the lower roof and is supported on tier above tier of joists in the same manner. These joists are sometimes extended beyond the point where they take the weight and are finely carved. The roof is either covered with large dark-grey overlapping tiles or sheathed in metal. There is frequently a narrow verandah round the building supported on corbels from underneath the floor; but in no case are there any posts on it connecting with or supporting the lower roof.* From this description it will be gathered that a pagoda is an ordinary

* It must be understood that the above describes the apparent structure. The supporting joists of the roof may be carried through into the interior of the building, and I have heard it suggested that they are weighed with stones inside as a counter-balance.

temple with a very small floor area and raised to five storeys, with the corresponding number of roofs.

Nikko pagoda is 18 feet square and rises to a height of 104 feet, terminating in a tall slender spire. It is lacquered red outside and has the usual bells hanging from the corners of all the roofs, which are sheathed in copper. Entering the building, one is dazzled by the splendour of gold and shimmer of red lacquer. The small room seems full of smooth shining pillars. One in the centre and four grouped close round it are of bright gold, and the beams resting on them are beautifully painted with gigantic blue dragons, that sprawl on a gold ground, while in the ceiling above are gilt panels set off by black lacquer framing. The pillars at the corners are lacquered a deep red, and the painted ceiling above displays chrysanthemums on a white ground. A high platform in bright red lacquer, ornamented with gold, fills the centre, and on it rest four large golden images of Buddha seated on the sacred lotus with their curved and pointed halos of shining black lacquer, picked out with gold, making a background for the golden figures and standing out against the golden pillar in the centre. They represent four different aspects of Shaka, the Buddha, and in spite of the Shinto revival are allowed to remain, the Pagoda being outside the gates of the Shrine.

I wish it were possible to give any real idea of this blaze of gold, gleaming lacquer, and delicate painting; with it before one's eyes one is apt to wonder in what other tiny shrine one has found so much wealth of decoration blended with such true art that there is no trace of gaudiness or over-elaboration. This Pagoda by itself would make a worthy memorial, and yet it is only the first of the many treasures of art in the Shrine.

Crossing a courtyard, one reaches the first gate, called the Niomon. It is a double-roofed porch supported on twelve red-lacquered pillars that form compartments, two on each side of the gateway. The outer niches used to contain the Nio gigantic figures of two Gods in menacing attitudes, who are supposed to scare away demons. Incidentally one notices how far Buddhism has travelled when one learns that they are identified with Brahma and Indra. They were removed to Iyemitsu's Shrine on the Shinto revival, and their places are now occupied by two quaint figures called the Ama-inu and Koma-inu, half lion, half dog shaped. These were originally in the back niches and now occupy their proper places as Shinto demon-scarers. The gateway, though finely carved and painted, is not as grand as others, and it is impossible to describe more than those which are most noticeable.

Entering the Court, one is faced by three large red buildings containing Iyeyasu's relics, and on the left is the stable of the sacred horse that carries the soul of Iyeyasu in sacred procession once a year. There is a curious design on the stable consisting of three monkeys, one with its hand over its mouth, the other two covering their eyes and ears respectively: they are supposed neither to see, hear nor speak any evil. They are not related to Hanuman, his place being taken in Japan by Inari, the Fox God. In this Court is placed a Holy water cistern about 5 feet long which is covered by a canopy, curved like a temple roof, and supported by twelve slender granite pillars tipped with engraved brass. White dragons are carved on the lower beams and golden dragons and flowers decorate the beam above. Near to it is the library containing the Buddhist scriptures in a case which is a fine example of the richness of Buddhist temple accessories. It is revolving, octagonal in shape, and lacquered a rich red, with golden pillars between the doors, the framework being delicately painted in colours on a gold ground. About a foot from the case are larger pillars of gold laid on red lacquer supporting the canopy, and underneath are panels with scenes of birds and water on a blue ground. Outside is a Torii in bronze ornamented solely by the Tokugawa crest, a trefoil, the points of the leaves touching and enclosed in a circle.

Passing under this, one ascends a flight of granite steps into a court containing a temple dedicated to Yakushi, which is a perfect gem of art. He is one of the aspects of Shaka, the Buddha, and was peculiarly venerated by Iyeyasu: for this reason the temple has escaped purification, and the shaven Buddhist priests can still be seen holding their services there. Its exterior is of red lacquer, the best in Nikko, and a heavy portico supported on gilt elephant's heads rising from red lacquer pillars shadows the copper-sheathed steps and throws the interior into dim obscurity. When accustomed to the half light, one sees that the chamber is divided longitudinally by a row of pillars that carry a light wall reaching to the ceiling. The main walls for part of their height are concealed by hanging mats and embroideries, but higher up are divided into varied lines of ornamentation, extending round the room and over the pillars. Birds, carved and painted with wonderful fidelity to nature, fill one line; above are medallions of clustered flowers of every variety, and so on, line above line of delicate tracery and carving, painted with the brightest hues on wings of birds and petals of flowers, some glowing with gold, some hidden in shade, up to the ceilings where one huge dragon, magnificently executed in sepiä, stretches its coils

across from end to end. Behind the pillars is the shrine, the altar being raised on a black lacquered platform, with a red balustrade that extends the whole length of the room. The large golden images of the God stands on the altar fronted by two small images of saints and flanked by twelve images of his followers, one of them being Iyeyasu himself, that are ranged down the long platform on each side.

On the altar in front of the God are the invariable bronze temple utensils, a slender vase with curved handles, a smaller incense burner, with a lion surmounting the lid, and the candlestick, the form now familiar to everyone—a stork standing on its right leg with bent head holding the spray for the candlestick. Other religious utensils are small stands and boxes—beautiful specimens of gold lacquer. In the making of this, the finest form of the art, the gold is applied to the plain lacquered surface in several processes, the groundwork being a fine sprinkling of gold dust. On this the design is outlined and then worked in with gold in every conceivable manner, inlaid, raised, plated, washed and sprinkled, the finished work being of great artistic and intrinsic value.

Gold lacquer is largely used in temple ornaments and emblems, some of the sets being priceless. It is impossible to describe all the wonders of art in this temple; but, whether seen when the monotonous chant and fragrant incense of worship steal up to the carved roof, or when in absolute silence the dimness is intensified by the bright sunshine outside, and the eye can wander undistracted from shining pillars to painted blossoms, it is a thing of beauty not to be forgotten.

The next courtyard is inclosed by a long line of cloisters, broken in the centre by the Great Yomeion Gate. Below are rows of sacred lanterns five feet high, votive offerings from Daimyos, some of cut granite, others of wrought bronze, all pillar-shaped and richly ornamented with geometrical designs and medallions of the Tokugawa crest. The back of the cloister forms a screen divided into paneled compartments, carved and painted with flower and bird designs. In one a hawk sweeps down on nestling doves; in another peacocks strut with expanded tails; herons in flight fill a third, and so on through the series, with wonderful variety, all nearly life-size and, in spite of their exposure to the air for over 250 years, in splendid preservation. The gate is double-storeyed but has, instead of a lower roof, a balcony which, not projecting so far, does not hide the intricate carving under the main roof. The porch rests on twelve white pillars with geometrical designs and medallions. On one of them is a carved tiger, the markings on its coat being produced by the natural grain of

the wood: another has the pattern carved upside down, an intentional error, lest the perfection of the gate decoration should excite the jealousy of evil spirits and bring misfortune on the house of Tokugawa. On the lower cross-beams boldly carved lions, painted white, stand out at the corners over the pillars, and above, on a long frieze, are scenes from Chinese domestic life brightly coloured. The joists are black-lacquered and terminate in a row of golden lions bearing on their backs the white balcony ornamented with flowers enclosed in scrolls. Above the gallery the pillars and cross-beams are again white, but bear carved white dragons, instead of lions.

Higher up again, the joists, instead of being decorated with, are actually carved into, dragon forms, tier above tier, stretching further and further out as they rise one above the other until their details are lost in the shadow of the overhanging roof. The dragons are all in shining black lacquer, wonderful in grotesque variety, their front aspect being a row of gaping mouths and distended nostrils and their side view a mass of writhing and twisted coils. One is naturally reminded of Gargoyles on a Cathedral; but the influence of expelled evil spirits is incorrect, the dragon being, on the contrary, the National Emblem.*

The beams forming this dragon design are huge, but even then one is amazed at an audacity that converts the supports of a massive roof into a scheme of decoration.

Passing through a gateway, one sees first the building used for the Kagura, a sacred Shinto dance, and then a fine red-lacquered building that formerly contained the altar for burning fragrant cedar during Buddhist services. Directly opposite the Kagurado is the Karamon gate of the Main Shrine, which, though not structurally as fine as the Yomeimon, is remarkable for the beauty of its pillars and doors. The pillars and door-framing are decorated with carved branches and sprigs of plum trees and bamboos and a fine dragon, all on a white ground. The folding doors have clusters of flowers in coloured woods with a white geometrical pattern as background, and represent arrangements of natural flowers according to the most perfect designs of the school that governs the art. This art has been raised to a science by the Japanese and is embodied in many of their domestic ceremonials, besides having its own esoteric ideas and developments.

Passing through this gateway, one is at last opposite the Haiden, or Oratory of the principal temple in the Shrine.

The outside is of shining black lacquer, and is approached

* I have sometimes wondered what are a Japanese gentleman's feelings when he sees a St. George and Dragon sovereign. Fortunately it is not current in Japan.

by steps sheathed in copper leading on to a narrow verandah protected by a black balustrade ornamented with brass. A massive portico shadows the steps and rests on four white pillars connected with the building by beams disguised as ornaments. The two outside beams are huge white dragons whose tails pierce the building, while the front parts of their bodies are thrust through the capitals of the portico pillars, their arched necks and fierce heads stretching well out beyond. The other two beams are sprays of flowers treated in a like manner. The entrance is by three pairs of folding doors decorated with arabesques of peonies in gilt relief on their panels, below which is a geometrical pattern. Over the doors, and continued on the building outside, are medallions of painted birds, while panels of gold lacquer and black pierced screens between the pillars admit light into the interior.

Inside, the temple, though no longer crowded with the images and emblems of the former Buddhist régime and thus forming a marked contrast to the Yakushi temple, is a wonder of decorative art. In the first chamber the wall space at each end is filled to a height of about eight feet by sliding panels with paintings of bamboo, pine and plum, on a gold ground hidden behind hanging screens of fine reeds covered with blue figured silk. Above the panels is a frieze of peacocks and doves, and over that again, a border of geometrical design with a gold ground partly concealed by pictures of celebrated Japanese poets. Here the framing of the ceiling begins; but in between the shining black joists are finely carved and painted flowers in high relief. The supports of the ceiling bend up in a series of curves in polished black lacquer and end in the long transverse ribs which cross one another above the room. These are finely modelled in black lacquer with engraved brass and enclose about 200 panels, on which are blue dragons coiled on a gold ground inside round medallions, the corners filled with clusters of peonies and other flowers. On each side is a small antechamber, formerly the private rooms of the Shogun and the Abbot of Nikko. The walls are lined with large carved panels depicting eagles in trees, the various colours being produced by different woods let into the panels, and in one of the rooms an angel surrounded by chrysanthemums is painted on the ceiling.

The only objects connected with worship are a Buddhist gong and the two sacred Shinto emblems, the Mirror and the Gohei. The Mirror is, strictly speaking, the sole emblem in Shintoism, but even its significance is not explained, and the Gohei are strips of white paper cut in a peculiar shape; the modern form of the cloth-offerings of earlier times. In this temple the Mikado's presentation Gohei of thick gold

paper are alone admitted, and hang on a beautiful gold lacquer stand. The next room has the same scheme of decoration on its walls, but birds replace the dragons on the ceiling. A panel of black lacquer with raised golden flowers is let into one wall, and on a dais are silver vases containing finely wrought silver sprigs of pine, bamboo, and plum, and four tables of gold lacquer inlaid with mother-of-pearl. Six double doors lead into the next chamber, the roof of which is supported on pillars, some of plain carved wood, others lacquered and overlaid with gold, while the walls and friezes are painted with phoenixes and peonies. The ceiling also has phoenixes, instead of dragons, all differently designed in its panels. The only objects here are gold and silver Gohei standing on a lacquered table in gold and silver vases. One more room is decorated with peonies and hawks in its friezes, and clusters of flowers on a gold ground on the ceiling, and has for its sole emblems three gold Gohei in golden vases.

Four rooms make the Oratory and Inner Shrine, and here the soul of Iyeyasu is supposed to dwell. Their decoration baffles description and would require the pen of a Ruskin to do justice to it : all one can say is that the note of the whole work is delicacy and harmony and the result arrived at perfection.

One thing more remains to be seen : one passes out of the courtyard on to the steep hill-side among the trees where a broad flight of granite steps with a moss-grown balustrade winds up the slope. One climbs higher and higher and further from the temples until at last, passing under a Torii, one stands before the tomb itself. One sees a large bronze casket with a curved canopy over it, fronted on the granite steps below by the flower vase, incense burner, and candlestick in bronze. A balustrade, worn and stained by many a mountain storm, encircles it, and all around are the tall shafts of the cryptomeria and the mosses and ferns clinging to the steep sides of the hill. Far below are the temples with their wonderful beauty in perpetual memorial of the great Shogun ; but he is laid to rest under the pine tree shade and in the silence of the eternal hills.

I have left little space for any account of the other shrine and the detached temples of Nikko. Of the latter the largest are the Jōgyōdō and Hokkēdō. They each contain large central altars for the principal God and numerous smaller images enclosed in ornamental upright golden caskets with folding doors which make little shrines for them. These have doubtless come from old temples now demolished. Images of this sort used some years ago to be stolen by the priests and sold owing to the laxity caused by the dis-

tablishment, but they are difficult to procure now. In these two temples there are over fifty figures of Amida, Jizo, Fudo, Kwannon and others, all finely modelled and covered with gold, which are devoutly worshipped by the pilgrims and visitors thronging the temples and making their humble offerings of rin, the smallest copper coin. Here, too, the priests sell charms, and I watched one of them explain to a poor woman who was journeying up the valley to Chusen, the dangerous nature of the bridges and the necessity of providing herself with a charm against drowning. She and I bought some invested in the little folded scraps of paper inscribed with a Buddhist prayer. I keep mine together with one of the copper pellets on which a devout Shinto worshipper writes his name and throws into the simple temple of his religion as his prayer.

The shrine of Iyemitsu is situated on a hill slope near Iyeyasu's, and, in the absence of the latter, would rank very high among the artistic treasures of Japan. Its distinctive characteristic is the presence of the Buddhist Gods and the profusion of emblems and religious utensils of great beauty. It is marred by the grotesque idols that fill the niches of its gates and are tawdry and vulgar beside their delicacy of decoration and richness of carving. Every sign of inferiority, however, vanishes when one reaches the main Oratory, which is in the same style as Iyeyasu's, but more magnificent. The walls are a blaze of gold absolutely dazzling where the sunlight through the doorway and pierced screens strikes them, but toned into dead gold in the dim light elsewhere. In the first room are large gold panels painted with dragons in different contorted positions, and the friezes and ceilings in all the rooms are an endless succession of dragons, phoenixes, angels and birds: one room alone has no less than a hundred lions carved, gilded and painted. But, in addition to the decoration, the rooms are rich with votive offerings and religious emblems. Magnificent brass canopies hang from the ceiling, sacred gongs, drums and lanterns line the walls, and large gold lacquered tables are covered with vases, boxes, and stands in profusion. Everything is of the richest material, solid gold and silver, inlaid mother-of-pearl, silk embroidery, all worked into perfect designs. Specimens of all are in the museums and private collections in Europe, but here they are crowded together and all reach the highest point of their respective arts. The contrast with Iyeyasu's oratory is great; but there is one other point of difference essential to the religions. This shrine contains the tablet of Iyemitsu and his image in wood; that of Iyeyasu has none. It is hard to decide which is the more impressive.

CHARLES NAPIER.

ART. III.—RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS AND
CHARITIES OF BENGAL ZEMINDARS.

II.

THE Metropolis of India and its suburbs contain charities and religious endowments on the largest scale, but many of the donors do not properly fall within the category of zemindars. The works of public beneficence of some of the Calcutta landholders, such as Maharajah Jotindra Mohun Tagore, Maharajah Doorga Charan Law, and the Seal families of Colootollah, have already been noticed in connection with the charities of the Hooghly district. Of the rest none perhaps equals the Mullick family of Jorabagan in point of liberality and munificence. Its history dates more than a century back, and the earliest representatives of the family were equally remarkable for their charity and benevolence with those of the later period. The dharamsala, or alms-house, which has become so far-famed throughout this country for its vast outlay for the purpose of feeding the poor and the hungry, is almost contemporaneous with the existence of the family. Its residence was formerly at Pathuriaghata and this dharamsala stood opposite to it, relieving the vast crowds of destitute people who daily flocked to it for food.

The offer of medical relief to the sick poor at a time when Government dispensaries were unknown was a special feature of the charity of this ancient family, and it kept in its employment a competent staff of learned native physicians to prepare medicines for free distribution. Of the old representatives of this family the name of Nilmani Mullick stands foremost in point of public spirit and liberality. The Mullick temple of Jagannath at Chorebagan owes its existence to him. Here he transferred the dharmasala, or alms-house, which is still doing capital service to the poorer classes of the native community. The Car festival is still observed by the Mullick family with great pomp and magnificence, and thousands of paupers are enriched with gifts of cloth and money on the occasion of the dragging of the car through the streets of Calcutta amidst waving of flags and singing of songs. The son of Nilmoni Mullick was Rajendra Mullick, who distinguished himself greatly for his eminent services during the great famine of 1866-67. He opened several relief-houses at this time of severe distress, of which those at Chorebagan and Chitpur were on a grand scale. As a lover of the fine arts, he stood unrivalled amongst his brethren of Bengal. His palatial house at Chorebagan, with its splendid marble drawing room, is

one of the best specimens of Eastern architecture. His love for the animal kingdom was great, and for the amusement of the public he maintained a menagerie, wherein curious birds and animals had been brought from different parts of the world. The Calcutta Zoo owes much to his kindly interest and liberality. He presented numerous animals, which he had purchased at immense cost and at great trouble, to the Zoological Garden. These animals form a separate group by themselves and are located in a separate part of the garden, called after him the "Mullick-House." The improvement of the sanitation of Calcutta, which had been notorious for unhealthiness throughout Calcutta, is mainly due to his exertions and indefatigable energy. He offered to Government free of cost large plots of lands for the opening of new streets through this congested area. For these acts of public beneficence, the Government of India conferred on him the title of Raja Bahadur, with a *Sannad* and a *Khilat* consisting of a large diamond ring.

The Mullick family of Barabazar is equally noted for its charity. The name of Jodu Lall Mullick is well known to the public of Bengal. His ancestor, Ram Mohun Mullick, built at an enormous cost the splendid bathing ghât which still stands by the side of the Hooghly floating bridge and which is daily resorted to by the Marwari community of Calcutta in such large numbers. This ghât was dedicated to his father Nemaï Charan Mullick, whose religious endowments at Ballabhpur are still extant. At a time when the Strand Road of Calcutta was notorious for its deep ruts and quagmires and full of filth and abomination, the construction of a bathing ghât was not an easy matter, but Ram Mohun was a zealous Hindu and spared neither money nor trouble to carry out his benevolent idea, by which he laid the entire Hindu community of Calcutta under a deep debt of gratitude. His youngest brother, Moti Lall Mullick, spent large sums in the construction of several Hindu temples at Brindavan, and his widow built an alms-house at Mahesh where poor people are fed even now every day. To the cause of Sanscrit learning the family have contributed materially, and the Calcutta Sanscrit College owes its most productive endowments to their liberality and munificence. No less a sum than Rs. 1,800 is yearly spent in paying free stipends to one hundred sons of *bond-fide* pundits and fifty other meritorious students. The endowment is valued at about sixty thousand rupees, and an endowment for a nobler object could not have been created. Kasi Nath Mullick has embalmed his memory in the Free Sanscrit School, which he constructed at an immense cost and which now stands so conspicuously on the Harrison Road.

He has left sufficient funds for its maintenance, and the yearly cost is estimated at several thousands of rupees. There are also a temple at Khurdah and a religious Seminary for which Rs. 200 is monthly spent. By his will of 4th March, 1878, Kasi Nath left the bulk of his property for religious and charitable purposes. It is under the management of the Administrator-General of Bengal, and the last cash balance in the estate was shown to be Rs. 79,600.

Anath Nath Mullick, the eldest son of Jodu Lall Mullick, subscribed the handsome sum of Rs. 20,000 towards the Lady Dufferin Fund and had always been instrumental in promoting all objects of public charity. It is a matter of great regret that he has been cut off so early by the hand of death.

The Shovabazar Raj family stands second to none in Calcutta in point of liberality and munificence. Maharajah Sir Narendro Krishna Bahadur enjoys the proud privilege of being the acknowledged leader of the native community and especially of the Kayestha caste. The name, however, which has cast a halo of renown over the family is that of Sir Radha Canto Deb. By dint of great patience and unremitting toil for a space of no less than forty long years, he produced the greatest work of his life, and, I may say, one of the greatest works of the nineteenth century, the Sanscrit lexicon, which is known throughout the civilized world as the "Sabdakalpadruma," and which has been the object of universal admiration. The learned societies of Europe, such as the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, the Royal Academy of Berlin, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, the Oriental Societies of Germany and America, &c., testified to his work in the highest term of praise and showered honours and distinctions on him. All the Royal families of Europe, impressed with the high sense of the Raja's scholarship, forwarded to him handsome tokens of their approbation. All this is very well, no doubt, but it is not generally known to many that in the publication of this great Sanscrit Encyclopædia he spent almost a princely fortune, and I might almost say, that he spent the greater part of his fortune. As soon as each volume was published he distributed it gratis, with commendable pleasure and promptitude, amongst the learned pundits of the East and the savants of the West, and among the literary institutions of all countries where the Sanscrit language is cultivated and appreciated.

Amongst his successors Maharajah Kamal Krishna Deb, Bahadur, was very charitably disposed. As instances of his liberality I may mention his endowment to the District Charitable Society for the maintenance of a dozen Hindu widows. The Shovabazar Raj family have been famous for

their zeal in the construction of public roads. Maharajah Naba Krishna, the founder of the family, who obtained a medal from Lord Clive and the title of Maharajah Bahadur for his loyal services to the British Government during the war with Suraja-dowlah, constructed a good road from Diamond Harbour to Kalpi, a distance of 8 miles. Maharajah Kamal Krishna gave away a good deal of land for the construction of a road in the District of Tipperah, and erected a building for the accommodation of the Khardah Charitable Dispensary. In bestowing him with the title of Maharajah Bahadur at the Belvedere, on the 14th August, 1877, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor spoke as follows:—

"The title of Raja which you have always enjoyed as a matter of courtesy and by popular recognition, has now been fully conferred upon you in recognition of your liberal support of every measure for the benefit of your countrymen. Your donations to the public charities of Calcutta have been munificent; you have also given largely of your wealth in support of dispensaries, schools, roads and other objects of public interest in the interior. I need only instance your magnificent donation of Rs. 10,000 to the Central Relief Fund of the late Bengal Famine, of Rs. 2,000 to the building fund of the Mayo Hospital—a hospital erected for the benefit of your poor countrymen, and of Rs. 1,000 to the Burdwan Fever Relief Fund. No subscription has ever been raised in Calcutta to which you have not most willingly contributed, and you have thus maintained the reputation for generosity of one of the oldest families of Calcutta."

To the Indian Science Association he gave a donation of Rs. 2,000 and a monthly subscription of Rs. 25. The Oriental Seminary of Calcutta owes much to his liberality, and the spacious building was constructed almost entirely at his expense. His munificence during the famines of 1866 and 1874 deserves special mention. On the former occasion he opened a relief house at Shovabazar on an extensive scale, and gave away besides food, clothing and blankets to all. On the latter occasion he did the same thing in his garden house at Khardah. Maharajah Narendra Krishna Bahadur is now the oldest representative of this ancient family and has always been ready to contribute towards all charities and movements of a public nature. Though shorn of much of its former wealth and splendour, the Shovabazar Raj family still takes a high place in native society and wields a great influence for the good of the country and Government.

The Roy family of Pathuriaghata is renowned for its princely charities and gifts. Raja Shukmoy was not only a liberal landholder, but thoroughly loyal to the British Govern-

ment. During the critical period of British administration his grandfather, Lakhi Kanta, helped the Hon'ble East India Company with magnificent pecuniary aid. In those days the pilgrimage to the sacred temple of Jagannath at Puri was attended with great hardship and danger, not the least of which was the absence of a public road to Cuttack. Many lost their lives in this difficult journey, poor and helpless women sinking down to die from sheer fatigue or sickness, and even stout and strong men faring no better, their troubles being aggravated by the want of good water and places of rest throughout this long journey. These harrowing tales of death and disease created a great impression on the mind of Raja Shukmoy. To alleviate the sufferings of millions of these pilgrims to Puri, Shukmoy made a princely gift of a lakh and fifty thousand rupees for the construction of the Cuttack road and establishment of caravanserais. In recognition of this act of philanthropy, the British Government conferred on him the title of 'Raja Bahadur' and a gold medal in administration of Warren Hastings. His sons followed the example of their father, and none of them so truly represented him as his third son, Raja Baidya Nath, whose good works of charity and public spirit will ever remain fresh in the memory of the Calcutta public. He was a great patron of learning, and, although a staunch Hindu, he was not forgetful of the claims of the women of his society to a good education. He gave a handsome donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Hindu College, and Rs. 20,000 in aid of the fund for native female education which was projected by the late-Miss Wilson. He spent about Rs. 50,000 for the construction of the bathing ghât at the Cossipore Gun Factory and the road leading from there to Dum-Dum. To the Native Hospitals he gave the sum of Rs. 30,000, and Rs. 8,000 for the construction of the Karmanasha Bridge. To the Zoological Society of London he gave a donation of Rs. 6,000, for which he was honoured and highly complimented by the Marquis of Lansdowne and the London Zoological Society. Kumar Kali Kissen established the first Anglo-Vernacular School at Paikpara.

He also gave a donation of Rs. 2,500 for the foundation of the Northern Suburban Hospital at Chitpore and subscribed Rs. 100 monthly for its support. For these acts of charity he was honoured by a visit from Lord Napier of Magdala at a grand entertainment in his house inaugurated for His Excellency's reception. Lord Auckland invested him with the title of Kumar, and a *Khilat* consisting of garments and a diamond *Shirpach* for the turban. Kumar Radha Prasad Roy, the eldest surviving member of the family, has largely subs-

cribed to many important public needs. He gave a donation of Rs. 5,000 to the Famine Fund, Rs. 3,000 to the Dufferin Fund, and Rs. 5,000 to the Transvaal War Fund. He has been led by a philanthropic instinct to establish a new educational institution, in which schooling will be provided free for such poor boys as are unable to pay fees. In connection with the establishment three scholarships have been founded, of Rs. 12, Rs. 5, and Rs. 3 per month, respectively, each of two years' duration, for the first three pupils of the school who succeed in passing the University Examination. This institution costs him about Rs. 300 per month.

Paikparah Raj occupies a unique position in Bengal among a family of liberal landholders who have spent vast sums on religious endowments and public works of utility and beauty. Among the members of this noble family Dewan Kristo Chandra Singh rose into fame by reason of his purely religious turn of mind. This gentleman is better known as Lala Babu throughout the length and breadth of the country. After a long religious pilgrimage in the North-West at Brindavan for some time. There his immense wealth made him famous. He built there the celebrated ¹⁴⁰⁰ Radha Krishna, of the purest Jeypore marble, and ¹⁴⁰⁰ endowed with most valuable landed estates for its maintenance. The temple is as beautiful as it can be, and is surrounded with a splendid row of buildings, which are used partly as a cloister and partly as out-offices of the manager. The latter also afford suitable abodes for scores of pilgrims who resort to the sacred city and reside there as free boarders. The manager is paid Rs. 150 per mensem as his salary, and the amount spent there in the worship of the god and goddess, and the feeding of the poor and other ceremonies is reckoned at Rs. 30,000 yearly. There is a large tank in Muttra dedicated to the goddess Radha, which Lala Babu, with his usual zeal for piety, faced on all sides with stone steps. There are charity-houses established by him in his native village at Kandi in the district of Murshidabad and Paikparah, which are still maintained with credit by his successors. The names of Raja Protap Chunder Singh and his son Kumar Girish Chunder stand out in the family history of the Paikparah Raj as worthy successors of Lala Babu. The Calcutta Medical College building owes its existence to the munificence and liberality of Raja Protap Chunder. Towards its construction he subscribed the princely donation of Rs. 50,000. In honour of the donor a ward on the first floor of the Calcutta Medical College was named after him and called "Pertab Chunder Singh Ward." His eldest son, Kumar Girish Chunder Singh, left by his will the munificent bequest of Rs. 1,36,000 for the

erection and maintenance of a hospital at Kandi in the Murshidabad district. This hospital is located in a nice building and is under the care and supervision of Government. It is doing good service to the public of the sub-division. His younger brother, Raja Purna Chandra Singh Bahadur, also gave a sum of Rs. 19,000 for the improvement of this charitable hospital. Nor are the ladies of this house less munificent. The name of Rani Katyani is known as a symbol of piety and benevolence. She has been instrumental in erecting many temples and digging several reservoirs. Her name is still preserved by the endowment which she has created by handing over to Government the sum of Rs. ~~7,500~~ for a scholarship in the Hooghly College for B. A. students. Kumar Indra Chandra Singh evinced his deep loyalty to Government by giving a farewell entertainment in the most royal style to the Marquis of Ripon at his Belgachia Villa. This entertainment is said to have been the grandest yet given by a native of this country, and the scene presented was one of extraordinary brilliancy. It cost the Kumar some Rs. 50,000 in one night. The widow of Kumar Inder Narain has subscribed the sum of Rs. 1,000 towards the present famine.

Amongst the patrons of Sanscrit learning the name of Sreegopal Basu Mallik of Calcutta, Potoldanga, must stand foremost by reason of his having founded for the Calcutta University an endowment, the annual value of which is Rs. 5,000. Out of this sum of Rs. 5,000, Rs. 4,800 are expended upon the remuneration of a Fellow nominated by the donor or his heirs from three names sent up to him by the Registrar with his recommendation for their fitness to the post. The duty of the Fellow, when duly appointed, is to devote himself entirely during the term of his office to the study of Sanscrit learning with special reference to the Vedanta system of philosophy. He has to hold, in communication with the Registrar, classes in Vedanta at least twice a week, at which portions of the Yoga Vasistha, Upanishad, the Gita or other standard Vedanta text books are expounded. The lectures are open to the general public. They are printed at the expense of the Fellow as soon as possible after the completion of each year's course, bound up and distributed according to the suggestion of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. The diffusion of the principles of Hindu philosophy at the present moment amongst the student community of Calcutta, whose ideas about religion and morality are grossly misleading, is certain to produce a wholesome effect on their minds. Sree Gopal Bose's fellowship is thus fraught with immense advantage to the rising generation of the native community and ultimate benefit to the country.

The Bhukailas Raj family is one of the oldest and wealthiest in Bengal. Maharajah Jay Narain received the title of 'Maharajah Bahadur' from the Emperor of Delhi. Himself a linguist and scholar, he strongly advocated the promotion of public education, and with this view he established a college at Benares at an enormous cost, which still commemorates his name. After the establishment of the Government College at Benares Jay Narain made over the management of his college into the hands of English missionaries with one lakh of rupees for its support. He was also a man greatly endowed with religious feeling. He constructed at Benares a temple dedicated to the god Shiva, and died in 'the sacred city' at a ripe old age. His son was Kali Sankar Ghosal, who was ennobled by Lord Ellenborough during the Sindh War for his pecuniary aid to Government, and the title of Rajah was conferred on him for having bought up a large amount of Government securities at that critical period when public credit was very low. Raja Kali Sankar established the Benares Blind Asylum and endowed it with necessary funds where the inmates receive raiment and food free up to this day. Of his seven sons Raja Satya Charan Ghosal was a very liberal-minded man, and did a great deal of good to the district of Backergunge, of which he was the largest and richest landholder. He spent much money on a road to Jhelakati, the headquarters of his estate, where he had built an imposing mansion and alms-house. Satya Charan Ghosal gave a donation of Rs. 10,000 towards the funds of the Calcutta Medical College Hospital, and the 'Satya Charan Ghosal Ward' still testifies to his liberality in the cause of suffering humanity. The Bhukailas Raj *Debottur* estate has an annual income of about Rs. 12,000 and affords a wide scope for the celebration of all Hindu ceremonies as well as for charitable gifts.

The charities of Raja Degomber Mittra consist of a fund endowed after his name for the monthly support of poverty-stricken persons. He was a great friend of poor students and used to keep a boarding house for about a hundred such boys, feeding them daily and providing them with books and schooling fees. His grandsons, Kumar Monmotho and Narendra Nath Mittras, have been managing their father's charities with great zeal and credit. The former has subscribed Rs. 1,000 to the Transvaal War Fund and Rs. 2,000 to the present Indian Famine Relief Fund.

Mohini Mohon Roy has immortalized his name by creating an endowment for the support of the poor. He handed over to Government for this purpose a sum of one lakh of rupees in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Securities shortly before his death, and expressed his desire that the interest might be

made over to indigent persons in monthly stipends ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3. In addition to this very praiseworthy endowment, he also created several others of smaller sums of money for providing scholarships to meritorious students of the Calcutta University. He has also left funds for the purpose of giving prizes to the boys of the Dacca and Krishnagar Colleges.

The family of Raja Ram Mohun Roy is well known for its liberality. His grandsons, Hari Mohun and Pyari Mohun Roy, maintain a charitable dispensary and an alms-house at their native village of Radhanagore in the district of Burdwan. The Mitter family of Shyambazar, but originally of Baraset, whose present representatives are Shyam Loll and Mohon Loll Mittra, have similarly maintained an *atithsala* and a charitable dispensary. The former has extensive zemindaries in the District of Hooghly and 24-Pergunnahs and the latter in Gya.

The charities of the late Dewan Kristo Ram Bose of Shambazar were of so exceptional a nature that some reference to them here will not be deemed inappropriate. I give the following, condensed from Mr. Loke Nath Ghose's "Modern History of Indian Chiefs," p. 45 :—On one occasion he bought rice to the value of Rs. 1,00,000 for the purpose of profiting by its sale ; but before a single grain was sold a great famine took place. Thereupon he gave up his idea of gain and displayed his charity by opening *Annachattras* for the purpose of feeding the famine-stricken people without distinction of caste. * * * He celebrated the *Rath* of Jagannath at Mahesh with great splendour, and the annual festival in connection with it is still continued by his present descendants. He established the idols Modon Gopalji in Jessore and Radhabollavji in Beerbhum. He dedicated to Mahadeo a temple on the largest and most beautiful hill situated in the centre of the river Ganges, bordering Jehangira, a village in Bhagulpore. He planted trees on both sides of the road from Cuttack to Puri, a distance of 40 miles for the convenience of pilgrims. He excavated a large tank on the outskirts of Puri near the entrance to the sacred shrine of Jagannath, and lodged sufficient money with the Raja of Puri to cover annually the cost of the three big cars at Puri.

I now pass from the City of Palaces in Lower Bengal to the capital of East Bengal. Dacca is now a wreck of its former self. Its old splendour and commerce, due to the flourishing trade of Greek, Italian and Portuguese merchants, are gone. When the Mussulmans conquered and settled in East Bengal, they named Dacca Jehangirabad, after the Emperor Jehangir, and made it the capital. Out of the wreck of its past grandeur

and its ancient nobility, has arisen, tower-like, a noble house, whose traditions can trace their direct connection with the Emperor's service at Delhi. The noblest representative of this house was Sir Khwaja Abdul Ghani, K. C. S. I., Nawab of Dacca, who was famous throughout Bengal for his vast wealth, liberality and public spirit. Loyal to the backbone, Nawab Ghani distinguished himself greatly during the Sepoy revolt of 1857, assisting the British Government with all sorts of necessary information, advice and funds. During the severe famine of 1874, and after the cyclone of 1876, he placed his steamer "Dacca" at the disposal of Government for the purpose of carrying out relief work. He was the greatest benefactor to the city of Dacca, having materially contributed to all works of public usefulness in it and subscribed lavishly in all times of public distress. For the improvement and sanitation of Dacca he spent four lakhs of rupees. The Dacca Water Works, which provide to rich and poor alike an abundant supply of filtered water in the far off capital of East Bengal, and which have helped very greatly to wipe out the reproach of the insanitation from the city, owe their existence to his munificence and liberality. He subscribed a sum of two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees towards the funds for their construction and subsequent extension. But it is the manner of giving this princely subscription that has made it so famous, for he did it in commemoration of the Prince of Wales's recovery from a dangerous illness. The water-works at Dacca thus stand out as a monument to his devoted loyalty to the Queen-Empress of India. The drainage of Dacca had been notoriously bad, and sanitary laws were as completely ignored in the city as in the villages. Cesspools were found on the banks of tanks or within a few feet of a well; and the dead were buried in the midst of the living. The sewage was never removed and the rain water conveyed it into the river, whence only wholesome water was procurable. Weeds were seldom eradicated and tanks were never cleansed. Drains were seldom flushed and had rarely any outlet. Led by a laudable desire to improve the public health of Dacca, Nawab Abdul Ghani gave a donation of one lakh of rupees for the purpose of carrying out improvements in the drainage system of the city. But for the exertions and expense incurred by him for the benefit of the public, Dacca would have remained an insanitary slough. For the improvement of the Dacca rivers he subscribed a sum of Rs. 15,000, and for the deepening of the Byguabari canal he gave Rs. 8,000. He spent over Rs. 40,000 in digging tanks, wells and canals, in all his zemindaries situated in the districts of Dacca, Barrisal, Tipperah and Mymensingh. For the repairs of the Buckland

Bund, Dacca, he contributed the sum of Rs. 35,000. Nor are his charities confined within the boundaries of India alone. They extend wherever the sun shines and the wind blows. For the cutting of the Zobeda canal at Mecca he gave a donation of Rs. 40,000. To the sick and wounded soldiers of Turkey who fought with such splendid bravery and desperate perseverance during the Russo-Turkish War, he sent a subscription of Rs. 20,000 through the Turkish Consul. To the sick and wounded troops of France during the Franco-German War he similarly sent a subscription of Rs. 5,000. For the relief of the sufferers from cholera in France he gave Rs. 2,000, and for those that were left homeless and desolate from the disastrous effects of the earthquake in Italy Rs. 4,100. He opened his purse strings on behalf of Italy when its people suffered terribly from cholera, and subscribed Rs. 2,000 for them. For the alleviation of the distress of the famine-stricken population of Persia, Jerusalem, and Bulgaria he gave Rs. 3,000 to each of those countries. During the great famine in Ireland he sent Rs. 6,000 for the benefit of the sufferers. For the relief of suffering humanity nearer home he has distributed money as lavishly as his wealth and position enabled him to do. The earthquake which laid waste hundreds of thousands of houses in the Happy Valley, and in which many valuable lives were lost, was as unparalleled in its disastrous effects as the last one we had in Bengal and Assam. For the relief of the sufferers he gave the handsome donation of Rs. 15,000. During the famine of 1867 he subscribed Rs. 10,000, and in that of 1874 double that amount. Towns devastated by floods and fires have participated always in his sympathy and help. During the heavy floods of 1885, which entailed the greatest hardship and sufferings on the poor and the peasant class, he subscribed the sum of Rs. 10,000 for their relief. If I were to enumerate all his contributions I should fill a volume. I give below a selected few :—

	Rs.
Dufferin Memorial Fund	50,000
To Commemorate H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Calcutta	12,000
Calcutta Zoological Garden	11,300
For his Mymensingh tenants	10,000
Charities to poor Parsis through Mr. Manekjee	38,000
Ramchandrapore Mosque and Ghât	10,000
Female Ward Mitford Hospital, Dacca	25,245
Cost of sending 115 poor pilgrims to Mecca	24,800
For constructing two roads to the tomb of Huzrat Shah Ali	10,000
Charity to a Moslem lady	6,000

Charity to a Hindu lady	...	...	10,944
Ripon Scholarship	...	...	8,000
Famine Relief Fund	...	...	10,000
Victoria Square, Dacca	...	...	12,000
Victoria Zenana School	...	...	10,000
Tornado Relief	...	...	10,000

In the matter of his charities he was widely catholic. To the Alligur College, as well as to the Benares College, he gave a donation of Rs. 2,000 each. Towards the furtherance of the translation of the Mahabharat he lent a helping hand, as he did also towards the Balaclava Heroes Fund.

Among his minor charities, which are legion, I mention below only a few of the more important:—

			Rs.
Cyclone of 1864	...	...	5,000
Land for Dacca Madrassa	...	...	5,500
Burdwan Famine, 1885	...	...	1,000
Burdwan Famine, 1872	...	...	4,300
Barrisal Famine, 1887	...	...	5,000
Barrisal Hospital, 1871	...	...	4,000
Barrisal Famine, 1874	...	...	5,000
For the snake house in the Zoo	...	...	2,000
Lancashire Fund	...	...	3,000
H. R. H. Princess Alice's Memorial	...	...	2,000
Cattle trough and drinking fountain, Calcutta	...	...	1,500
Dacca Club	...	...	4,000
Repairs of Khonala at Mughazar	...	...	3,000
Famine Relief, Poona and Amhedabad	...	...	2,000
Prince Albert Victor's Reception	...	...	5,000
Naraingunge Hospital	...	...	2,000
Dufferin Hospital	...	...	3,500
Victoria Hospital, Madras	...	...	2,000
Jubilee Memorial Fund	...	...	5,000
Dufferin Memorial	...	...	2,000
Eden Statue	...	...	1,000
Sir Steuart Bayley Memorial	...	...	2,000
Relief of Wounded Soldiers, Cabul War	...	...	1,000
Madras Famine	...	...	2,500
Abdul Hamid's Mosque	...	...	4,000
Darjeeling College and Recreation Ground	...	...	2,000
Moslem Girls School	...	...	1,000
Barrisal Recreation Club	...	...	3,900
Repairs of the Mitford Hospital	...	...	2,000
Empress Commemoration Fund	...	...	1,000
Chittagong Cyclone	...	...	1,000
Indian Mission Fund	...	...	5,000
School at Teheran	...	...	2,000

Deaf and Dumb School	...	...	3,000
Chandpore Mosque	...	...	5,000
Chandpore Town Hall to commemorate Lord Elgin's visit	...	...	5,000

As to sums of less than Rs. 1,000, the late Nawab Abdul Ghani spent them like water, giving them whenever and wherever a party approached him for assistance.

His zeal for the Moslem faith led him to build and repair mosques and tombs which but for his pecuniary aid would have crumbled to pieces. Some of these mosques, notable amongst which is the Hossani Dalan of Dacca, are renowned for their architectural beauty and antiquity. For the repairs of the Dacca Imambarah the Nawab gave a princely donation of one lakh of rupees. His worthy son Nawab Ahsanullah subscribed a sum of two lakhs of rupees for the reconstruction and repairs of the Hossani Dalan. Nawab Abdul Ghani spent almost a fortune in the repairs and renovation of about 25 of the principal mosques and tombs of this country.

In addition to these numerous charities, he maintained a Free School, a Madrassa for Mahomedan students and an alms-house. The last, which is known popularly at Dacca as the Nawab's Langarkhana, was opened in the year 1866. The majority of the inmates are either blind or lame. All these institutions still exist and are creditably maintained by his son.

The Nawab of Dacca supports entirely at his own cost six charitable dispensaries at the following places:—(1) Ram-e, (2) Gouripore, (3) Dollye, (4) Konokdeiya, (5) , (6) Pamoorky.

The loyal services rendered to Government by the Nawab of Dacca form a brilliant record in the family history of this noble house. I give below a complete list of them:—

1. During the late Mutiny Nawab Sir Abdul Ghani presented three elephants to the Government.
2. The night before the fight in Dacca he placed his paddleboat "Dolphin" at the disposal of the authorities to take a detachment of the naval brigade to Dawoodcandy, in order to intercept a body of the Mutineers from Chittagong who were supposed to be marching upon Dacca.
3. During the Lushye War, Nawab Sir Abdul lent his steamer the "Ada" to take troops to Sylhet.
4. During the Kookie Raid in Hill Tipperah, he placed his steamer the "Star of Dacca" at the disposal of the authorities to take re-inforcements to the front.
5. In the 2nd Lushye Campaign, he lent six elephants to carry baggage and stores.

6. He also supplied the authorities with 300 country boats for the same purpose.
7. During the great famine of 1874, he lent his steamer the "Star of Dacca" for service at Rajshaye, where she was very usefully employed for some four months.
8. During the Naga War, Nawab Ahsanullah sent 15 of his best shikari elephants fully equipped for service in the Hills, where they all died.
9. Nawab Ahsanullah placed his Barge "Track" at the disposal of Mr. Prestage for the use of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales at Goalundo, where a pig sticking was organised for His Royal Highness.
10. He lent his steamer the "Star of Dacca" for famine relief work at Burrisaul.
11. He placed his steamer the "Dacca" at the disposal of the Telegraph authorities to enable them to re-lay the cable at Boid's Bazar after the great cyclone of 1897.
12. He placed his steamer the "Bornapore" at the disposal of the authorities at Chittagong to forward grain to the sufferers after the great cyclone of 1897.
13. He also placed his steamer the "Star of Dacca" at the disposal of Mr. Pellew when he was Commissioner of Dacca for famine relief work.
14. He lent his steamer launch "Jamoreky" to Mr. J. F. Brocklehurst.
15. Lent his elephants to the Railway authorities to carry on the survey works.
16. Lent his steamer the "Peri" to Mr. Pitman for work in connection with the Government Telegraph Department.

Nawab Ahsanullah has followed closely in his footsteps of his noble father, both as a liberal and enlightened zemindar and in vast public benefactions. I need only instance his latest act of generosity. He placed at the disposal of Government a sum of one lakh of rupees to take necessary measures for preventing the spread of plague to Dacca, and in case of its appearance in that town for proper treatment of poor, both Hindus and Mahommedans, who might suffer from the disease. The Nawab has offered to pay another lakh, if necessary, for the same purpose. The vast extent of his charity, can be appreciated by looking at the following cutting from a daily paper of 20th September last, which notices his princely liberality on the occasion of his son's marriage:—

"The marriage of his second son, Khajeh Atikullah, passed off on the 10th September at Delkosa Garden-house. On this

auspicious occasion, the Nawab made donation of nearly a lakh by a present of one full month's pay to all his officers and servants from the highest to the lowest, and proposes to make a further donation of Rs. 5,000 to each of the five Districts of East Bengal in which his Zemindary lies."

The names of Nawab Abdul Ghani and his son Nawab Ahsanullah stand out as beacon-lights to the rest of the landholders of Bengal and elsewhere, and no better example of a liberal landholder can be found anywhere in the country.

Maharajah Surja Canto Acharji is another liberal landholder of East Bengal. He is a great public benefactor to the city of where the Water Works, the Town Hall, and the dispensary are all due to his munificence and public water works he subscribed a lakh of rupees and supplemented it with another handsome donation. Hall of Mymensing is a splendid building most advantageous position and a large tract has cost the donor about Rs. 40,000, and has been a great boon to the inhabitants of the city. His grandmother, Bimala Dibya Chowdharani, is widely known in Benares and other holy places of Hindu pilgrimage as a most charitable lady. For his public beneficence he was honoured with the title of Raja on the recommendation of Sir Ashley Eden. He has founded and maintains several religious endowments and an alms-house. A keen sportsman and a hospitable landholder, Maharajah Surja Canto Acharji is held in high esteem by all classes of people. In addition to these charities he has subscribed Rs. 7,600 for the opening of an eye ward in the Nasirabad Dispensary, called the Mackenzie Eye Ward, and also pays the cost of its maintenance. He maintains a school which is called Raja Surja Canto's Institution.

The Nator Raj family have been so well noticed by Mr. J. Westland in his Report of the district of Jessore that I shall simply content myself with quoting from his writings:— "In the last half of last century, the Nator zemindari was in possession of Maharani Bhavani, who was the widow of Raja Ram Canto Rai, son of Raja Ram Jivan Roy. This lady's fame is spread far and wide, and it is specially noted that she was a most pious lady, continually spending her money in the endowment of idols. She established in Benares alone 380 temples, guest-houses (*atithalaya*) and other religious edifices, some of which are still kept up; but some have ceased to be kept up, probably because the family, by the loss of its estates, became too poor to support them. Religious edifices were erected by her also in other parts of the country and endowed with money and with land. There are many of

these at Nator, the seat of the family, and there is a well known one at Murshidabad, which is named Shām Rai. It is endowed with extensive lands, its principal endowment being Dihi (estate) Phulberia, which lies between Chargachha and Kaliganj, and has its cutchery at Shibnagar, opposite Kaliganj.

It is said that the income from these endowed properties amounted originally to about nine lakhs of rupees annually; but there is very little doubt that this income has dwindled at present to a fourth of this amount. Rajah Anand M. S. guided the Rajshaye public library and did many other works of public utility. His son Raja Chandra Nath established the Female Normal School at Rampore Bauliah and endowed it with a yearly income of Rs. 1. Nator Raj now supports, in addition to these, the Nator School, called the Nator Maharaja's High School Rajbari, and a charitable dispensary.

The Putya Raj is the oldest of the aristocracy of E. The seat of the family is in Putya, a Police station midway between Nator and Bauliah, the headquarters of the Rajshaye district. The first charitable act of any importance was done by a distinguished member of this family named Rati Kanta. He established that famous idol of Radha Govinda whose beautiful temple is the resort of hundreds of pilgrims, and added an *atithshala* to it for the maintenance of the necessitous. But the greatest amount of good work was done by one Jagan Naryan, who erected a splendid religious endowment at Benares and built a ghât and a guest-house in that city. He erected another guest-house on the banks of the river Phalgu in Bihar, while his widow erected at Putya a temple dedicated to Shiva and celebrated the occasion by extensive grants of rent-free lands to learned Brahmins. He used to distribute in the cold weather cloths to the poor, and during the rainy season to feed both men and cattle, an example which was followed by Rani Sarat Sundari. Rani Mon Mohini Debi has distinguished herself by a grant of Rs. 30,000 for the purpose of constructing tanks and wells in the Rajshaye district. During the late water-scarcity this act of charity of hers was the means of saving hundreds of lives of the poor. By her several scholarships, medals and free studentships in the Rajshaye College she has done much to promote and encourage English education amongst the poorer class of natives of the district. She is the donor of four scholarships, aggregating Rs. 33 monthly, to the students of the Rajshaye College. Besides this she awards yearly stipends to various Sanscrit *tois* and primary institutions throughout the district.

The Deghapatya Raj is an excellent specimen of a munificent and liberal family of landholders in Bengal. The

founder of the family, Dya Ram, was a great lover of Sanscrit and established several *toles* in the Rajshaye district. Most distinguished member of the family was Raja Nath Rai, who occupied a most conspicuous place contemporaneous zemindars and was one of the most liberal and benevolent examples of the landed aristocracy of Bengal. He constructed a good road from Dighapatya to Bauliah, which cost him Rs. 35,000. But what chiefly made his name famous was the princely endowment of Rs. 1,07,400 by which he established the charitable dispensaries at Nator and Bauliah. They are still maintained mainly out of the profits of the endowment. His son, Raja Promotho Nath Ray, gave a donation of Rs. 10,000 for the hospital and dispensary buildings at Rajshaye, established by his father. The Raj has borne the sole expense of the new boarding-house, called the 'Promoth Nath Hindu Boarding-house, which has been built in connection with the Rajshaye College. It accommodates 48 boarders. Raja Promoth Nath endowed the Rajshaye Girls' School with a yearly income of Rs. 180 and three scholarships for the same. He also recently established at his sole expense a charitable dispensary at Nakhila, his kachari-house. The Raj has always been remarkable for its religious endowments. In this connection the name of the founder of the family comes into prominence, as he founded several establishments, of which the temples of Krishna Chandra in Jessore and Gopal Deo in Murshidabad are the most famous. At the seat of the family at Dighapatya were founded several temples dedicated to the gods Krishnaji, Govindji and Gopalji. All these religious establishments he endowed with valuable landed estates. He took great pains in the excavation of large tanks in his zemindaries for the benefit of his tenants and surrounded his palace with a big moat to serve the purpose of a reservoir of good water.

I quote the following account of the zemindar of Narail from "Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account of Jessore," p. 208 :—

"The Rai family of Narail has always been noted for acts of liberality and piety in endowing temples, etc. They also dug several tanks upon their estates, and have constructed other works of public utility. Har Nath Rai spent a large sum of money upon a road intended to connect Narail with the town of Jessore, for which and other works he was rewarded by Government with the title of Rai Bahadur. A good school and a charitable dispensary at Narail are also maintained entirely at the expense of the family." This school has now attained the position of a second grade college under the name of 'Victoria College' at the instance of Ramratan Ray.

Raja Promada Bhusen Deb Rai, of Naldanga, Jessore, has

shown his public spirit and liberality by establishing scholarships for Sanscrit learning and medals for female education of which he is a very warm advocate. For these liberality he has received the thanks of Government. He has also founded and maintains a Higher Class School, which is named after him the 'Naldanga School,' and a charitable dispensary.

Of the many representatives of the nobility of Bengal on whom has conferred the title of Raja Bahadur on the occasion of the coronation of the Queen-Empress none perhaps has been so conspicuous in his liberality than Raja Mahendro Lall Khan, of Midnapore. His father, Ayodha Ram Khan, took great interest in the welfare of the public and largely contributed towards the Midnapore High School, the Relief Funds, Dispensary, Public Library, etc. During the famine of 1874 he allowed a remission of rents to the amount of about Rs. 40,000 to his tenants. He also made a free gift of lands to Government for a public road extending from Keshpur to Julka, a distance of over six miles in length. The religious endowments, consisting of several temples at Narajole, Abashghar and Kurunghore, have attached to each of them almshouses for the relief of the needy. The Lieutenant-Governor, when conferring on Mohendra Lall Khan the title of Raja Bahadur, thus spoke regarding his public spirit and munificence:— 'You have devoted your wealth and influence, as your father did before you, to the service of your fellow-countrymen. In endowments and donations to schools, libraries, and hospitals, in the construction of the Narajole embankment, and above all in the remissions of rents to your tenantry in bad years, you have set a noble example.'

The Moisadal Raj family has distinguished itself by many acts of public beneficence and utility. A charitable dispensary and free Entrance School are maintained by the Raj. There are alms-houses attached to almost all the temples dedicated to Hindu gods and goddesses where the hungry and poverty-stricken are fed with unstinted liberality. They were originally founded by Rani Janaki, a pious lady of the family, who is said to have spent a good deal of money in religious and charitable acts. The present representative, Raja Jyoti Prosad Gorga, gave a donation of Rs. 32,000 towards the construction of the first floor of the Eden Hindu Hostel Building, which has been called after the name of the donor's family 'The Moisadal Block.' The Raj annually awards medals and scholarships to the Midnapore College boys.

The Pal Chowdhury family of Natuda is well known for its acts of charity. Naffar Chandra Pal Chowdhury gave the sum of Rs. 5,000 for the restoration of the B.A. classes

of the Krishnagore College. In supplying the afflicted with medical relief he was always to the front, and subscribed Rs. 36,000 towards the establishment of a Charitable Hospital and Dispensary. He gave Rs. 5,000 towards the purchase of the Turret Clock at the Presidency College. But his grandest gift was the princely sum of three lakhs of rupees for reproductive Public Work which would be useful to the District of Nadya, and such other works as would develop the resources of the country. How far the aim of the donor has been carried out, and how many works of public utility of the nature suggested have been constructed, there are no data to enable us to say. But, no doubt, the Government will be so pleased as to let the public know how far this money has been spent in carrying out the real intentions of the donor.

There are few aristocratic houses of zemindars, however, in Bengal which can compare for works of public charity and munificence with that of the Nadya Raj. The present family is only a wreck of its former grandeur. It occupied a unique and important place in the history of the country. It rose to such power that it actually wielded the sceptre of Lower Bengal for a time. Of all the princes of this noble family, Maharaja Krishna Chandra was the most charitably disposed, and it was he who made himself so renowned throughout the country by virtue of his free gift of rent-free lands to learned Brahmins and scholars for the encouragement of Sanscrit literature. Whatever may have been done by other aristocratic families of Bengal, it is but doing bare justice to the Nadya Raj family to say that it has exerted itself to an extent which no other families have done for the encouragement of Sanscrit learning in Bengal, or I might say in India. In addition to the giving away of innumerable rent-free lands, he paid monthly stipends to many students and sent them to Benares and Drabir to prosecute their studies there. A recent and at the same time a somewhat interesting account of the amount of rent-free lands given away by the Nadya Raj estimates their value at about ten lakhs of rupees. Nor is this estimate in the least exaggerated. Throughout the district of Nadya, you will not find a single Brahmin who has not got his patch of rent-free land as a reward from the Nadya Raj. Indeed in the district of Nadya it is considered a reproach to a good Brahmin not to possess rent-free lands given by the Nadya Raj. The court of Chandra was the abode of all the brilliant intellects of the day. The greatest Sanscrit scholars flocked to all parts of Bengal. Of all the learned men that lived and moved about Krishna Chandra's court, the most renowned was the author of 'Vidya Sundar,' Bharat Chandra,

incontestably one of the best poets of Bengal. One might say with confidence that Krishna Chandra's reign witnessed the noon-day splendour of Bengali literature. It was through his strenuous exertions and liberal support that Nadya became the centre of Sanscrit learning in Bengal.

But it was not in the direction of learning alone that his liberality extended. He spent over two lakhs of rupees in the excavation of tanks in many places for the benefit of the public.

Among the princes of the Nadya Raj, Sirish Chandra was a reformer. He stoutly advocated the cause of the widows of Hindu widows and denounced in the most plain language the evils of the Hindu system of polygamy. He presented the lands on which the Krishnagore College was built to Government and subscribed largely towards the funds both for the building and the endowment of that important institution. The value of the land thus given away is estimated at Rs. 28,000. The present Maharajah Kshitish Chandra paid Rs. 6,000 for the maintenance of the B.A. class of the Krishnagore College in 1876 and Rs. 1,800 for the College funds in April 1895. In the construction of village schools and public roads the Raja has been eminently liberal. He paid a handsome contribution for the construction of the house for the small carnivora at the Zoological gardens in May 1897. Towards the funds of the Garette Hospital at Nobodwip he paid a sum of Rs. 1,000. It is a well-known fact that the present comparatively down-fallen state of the Nadya Raj is owing to its vast charities in times gone by in the shape of expenses incurred upon religious ceremonies, the performance of which has now become obsolete, and the grant to pundits of rent-free lands which cost fabulous sums of money. The Nadya Raj has made several endowments for the advancement of Sanscrit learning and encouragement of primary schools. Rs. 600 is yearly paid for the expenses of the *Bongobibudho Jononee Shova* at Nobodwip. A Sanscrit *tol* is maintained in the Rajbati for which a sum of Rs. 200 is paid every month. The Raj supports and subsidises a number of normal and other schools at a cost of Rs. 100 per month. It has paid Rs. 10,000 in small subscriptions to various objects of public utility and is always liberal in its support of all movements tending to the welfare of the people at large.

The Bhowal Raj, represented at present by Raja Narain Roy, affords a most striking instance of a landholder. His father, Kali Narain Roy, was created Bahadur for his eminent services during the famine of 1873-74, and for his general liberality and public spirit.

It has been computed that the present Raja Bahadur has spent up to now a sum of no less than three and half lakhs of rupees in charitable works. I enumerate some of his big donations here :—He gave Rs. 22,000 towards the construction of the Dacca Northbrook Hall, Rs. 20,000 towards the funds of the Dacca Medical School, Rs. 20,000 for the Buckland Road, Rs. 15,000 to the Mackenzie Fund, Rs. 17,561 to the Famine Fund, Rs. 6,000 for the Johnson Ward, and Rs. 5,000 to the school for the Deaf and Dumb. For the improvement of agriculture amongst his tenantry he organised a system of irrigation into his estate and an Agricultural Exhibition which cost him Rs. 15,927. I subjoin here below a list of his further subscriptions :—

	Rs.
Dufferin Fund	10,000
Tonga Bridge	20,000
Vidyasagore Memorial Fund	3,000
Mitford Hospital	12,000
Dacca College Scholarship	6,000
Darjeeling Pasteur Institute	1,000
Mirzapore Road	2,000
Charities during assumption of the title of	
Empress of India	1,500
Charities during Diamond Jubilee	2,208
Relief of sufferers from fire	3,502
Subscriptions for Memorials to Viceroys and	
Governors	15,000
Mymensing Female Hospital	1,600
Asiatic Society, Calcutta	2,017
Victoria Hospital	5,000
Subscriptions to Schools	34,033
Poor Fund Contributions	13,537
Subscriptions to Dacca Races	18,631

In addition to this long list which is by no means an exhaustive one, he supports the Saraswati Samaj which has for its object the improvement of Sanskrit *Tols*. He is the founder and sole proprietor of the Jeydebpur Sahitya Samalochani Institute, and bears its entire expenditure. This institution has a noble object. It encourages the development of Bengali literature, and also the publication of useful books in Sanskrit or English throwing light on the history of Indian civilization, by helping poor authors with money presents or by purchasing their books and presenting them to important libraries. The yearly expenditure for its maintenance amounts to about six or seven thousand rupees. In the 1896 a sum of Rs. 2,000 was remitted to Mr. Brennand of England for the printing of his great book on Hindu Astronomy.

The Tagore family of Calcutta are among the richest zemindars in East Bengal. I noticed in my last article the princely beneficence of Prosonno Coomar Tagore; but I have only mentioned in a casual manner the equally princely charities of Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore. I intend to close this article by referring to them in detail, and showing how the noble acts of one's predecessors serve as a guide, verifying the old adage, that example is better than precept.

The veneration with which Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore looks upon his mother is almost ideal, and it is not at all surprising that his most bountiful charities are named after her. The perpetuation of her sacred memory has been the most ardent desire of his life. In her name he has created a charitable institution at Benares and endowed it with a sum of one lakh of rupees. There is the usual temple of Shiva, with its concourse of Brahmins and daily worshippers; but the principal feature of the institution is the daily feeding of all-comers in the guest-house. A similar endowment exists in his mother's name at the Mulajore temples, for which a sum of Rs. 60,000 is given. That noble institution for relieving helpless widows which is known as the 'Maharajah Mata Hindu Widow Fund' was also created to commemorate her name and the fund amounts to one lakh of rupees. There is no class of persons more deserving of relief than that of destitute Hindu widows and no charity is more commendable than the amelioration of their sad and forlorn condition.

I give below some of the more important items of Maharajah Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore's charities :—

	Rs.
Rent remitted to the tenants of Faridpur estate during famine	40,000
Square laid out at Toltollah for the use of the public in the name of the Maharajah's father	24,566
For the statue of the Hon'ble P. C. Tagore, C.S. I., placed in the Senate House, Calcutta	20,000
For excavating a pond in Ballygunge for public use in 24-Pergunnahs in the name of the Maharajah's mother	10,000
The Indian Famine Fund (1866)	10,000
The Indian Famine Fund (1897)	10,000
The Transvaal War Fund	10,000
Lumsden's Horse	5,000
The District Charitable Society	8,000
The Lady Dufferin Fund (Bengal Branch)	5,000
The Lady Dufferin Fund (General Branch)	2,000
The Mayo Hospital	10,117

The Jubilee Fund	...	...	5,000
The Zoological Gardens Library	...	...	8,000
The Prince Victor Reception Fund	...	...	3,000
The Oriental Seminary Building Fund	...	...	2,500
The Zoological Gardens Snake House	...	...	2,500
The Calcutta Flood Relief Fund (1900)	...	...	2,500
The Kristo Doss Memorial Fund	...	...	2,000
The Bayley Memorial Fund	...	...	2,000
The Dufferin Memorial Fund	...	...	1,500
The Monghyr Jubilee School Fund	...	...	1,200
The Royal Marriage Fund	...	...	1,000
The Rajendro Lalla Mitter Fund	...	...	1,000
The Gayibanda School Fund	...	...	1,000
The St. Vincent's Home	...	...	1,000
The Rungpore Drainage Fund	...	...	1,000
The Jamalpore School Fund	...	...	1,050
For the sufferers by the fire at Kidderpore	...	...	1,000
The Cotton Memorial Fund	...	...	1,600
The Sir Comer Petheram Memorial Fund	...	...	1,350
For the Benares Hospital and Famine Funds	...	...	1,000
The Indian Musical Association	...	...	1,000
For the reception of H. H. The Lieutenant-Governor in Maharajah's Estate at Rungpore	...	...	1,000
Rungpore Charitable Dispensary Building Fund	...	...	1,100
Repairs of the Kamikshya Temple	...	...	1,000

The Maharajah gives annually a very large sum in subscriptions to various public bodies and associations. To the Meerut Volunteer Rifle Fund, to the Indian Science Association, to the North Suburban Hospital, and to the Mohun Mela Fund he pays Rs. 100 yearly. In the same way he gives annually Rs. 500 to the District Charitable Society, Rs. 550 to the British Indian Association, Rs. 500 to the Indian Industrial Association, Rs. 200 to the Lady Dufferin's Fund, Rs. 200 to the Mayo Hospital, Rs. 120 for prizes to the Photographic Society, Rs. 120 for the Art School Prize Fund, Rs. 125 for prizes to St. Xavier's College, and Rs. 120 for the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, while a further sum of Rs. 512 is annually spent in small subscriptions by the Maharajah.

For the encouragement of Sanscrit the Maharajah spends yearly the sum of Rs. 7,010, which he distributes in the shape of small stipends to learned pundits of *tohs* all over the country. He gives monthly stipends to 20 poor boys who are daily fed at the Prasad. Nor are the hungry rabble left uncared for and unattended. Every day 100 paupers are sumptuously fed, and cloths are distributed to them on occasions of Hindu religious festivities.

I subjoin here a list of works of public utility constructed by the zemindars of East Bengal and Calcutta :—

- 1.—Twelve temples of Shiva with a ghât in the middle, both in Connagore and in Panihati, placed opposite to each other on either bank of the Hooghly. By Jagat Ram Datta, of the Hatkhola Datta family.
- 2.—Pretsila staircase at Gya. By Madan Mohun Datta, of the Hatkhola Datta family.
- 3.—Nimtola Burning Ghât, dedicated to Lord William Bentinck. By Dewan Radha Madhab Bannerjee of Jorabagan.
- 4.—Bagbazar Bathing Ghât. By Dewan Durga Charan Mukharjee of Bagbazar.
- 5.—Temple of Modon Mohon, Upper Chitpore Road. By Gokul Chand Mittra.
- 6.—Twelve temples of Shiva at Baranagore on the Hooghly. By Jay Mitter of Calcutta.
- 7.—Kumartuli Bathing Ghât with a temple of Shiva. By Balaram Mozumdar of Kumartuli.
- 8.—Road leading to Kalighat. By Ram Chandra Pal of Jorasanko.
- 9.—Khardah Bathing Ghât, Rs. 24,000. By Ram Chandra Pal of Jorasanko.
- 10.—Khardah Bathing Ghât with twelve temples. By Ram Hari Biswas, Khardah.
- 11.—Anondomoyee Kali temple with an alms-house at Gobardangah. By the Mukherjee zemindars of Gobardangah.
- 12.—Gobardangah English School and Charitable Dispensary. By the Mukherjee zemindars of Gobardangah.
- 13.—Road from Baraset to Taki, cost one lakh of rupees. By Rai Kali Nath Munshi of Taki.
- 14.—Baruipore Charitable Dispensary. By Basanta Kumar Rai Chowdhury of Baruipore.
- 15.—Satkhira Public Road (60 miles). By the Rai Chowdhury zemindars of Satkhira.
- 16.—Jagaddal and Hatkhola Bathing Ghâts. By Dewan Fakir Chunder Sen, Jagaddal.
- 17.—Belghoria Charitable Dispensary in Nuddia district, Rs. 28,000. By Kailash Chunder Mukherjee.
- 18.—College and Dispensary at Kushtea. By Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore.
- 19.—Dacca Medical School Building. By Srimati Bishwewari Chowdhury Debi, Gouripore.
- 20.—Victoria Camp Hospital, Rs. 24,000, and maintenance charge Rs. 100 monthly. By Haro-Nath Chowdhury, Mymensing.

- 21.—Victoria Academy, Mymensingh. By Haro Chunder Chowdhury. Rs. 100 monthly expenditure.
- 22.—Rungpore Normal School Building. By Raja Gobindo Lall Roy of Rungpore.
- 23.—Eye Infirmary, Dacca, Rs. 20,000. By Raja Srinath Roy of Bhagyakul.
- 24.—Gaibundha School Building, Rs. 7,000. By Sarat Chundra Rai Chowdhury.
- 25.—Poor House at Murali, Jessore. By the zemindars of the District. It is endowed with landed property called the Khaturia Magura Estate. (Huffer's "Statistical Account of Jessore").
- 26.—Kirtipasha Anglo-Vernacular School, Sanscrit *Tol* and Charitable Dispensary. By Prosonno Coomar Roy Chowdhury, Backergunge.
- 27.—Lukhutia Vernacular and Night Schools and Private Charitable Dispensary. By Rakhal Chandra Roy Chowdhury, Backergunj.
- 28.—Mymensing Road, 8 miles from Tangail to Jaidebpore. By Kali Naryan Chowdhury of Bhawal.
- 29.—Bhawal Charitable Dispensary. By Kali Naryan Chowdhury, Bhawal.
- 30.—Malucha Branch Charitable Dispensary founded and supported out of a bequest of a native zemindar.
- 31.—Backergunj canals (1) Manik Mudi Khal, 5 miles long, connecting Durgapore and Nahalgunj rivers. By Manik Mudi, founders of the present family of landholders of Madhabpasa : (2) Lakhutia khal, 6 miles long. By Raj Chandra Ray of Lukhutia ; (3) Kotowalipara Khal, 10 miles long. By Narail landholders, Jessore.
- 32.—Tangail Branch Dispensary. By Dwarka Nath Rai Chowdhury. Yearly expense Rs. 2,400.
- 33.—Brajamohun Institution, or the Students' Union ; having an endowment of Rs. 365 yearly paid by the Zemindar Brajamohun Baboo's heirs.
- 34.—Satkhira School entirely supported by a zemindar, who has established it for education of the better class of his tenants. (Major Smith's report.) A charitable dispensary has also been established by him with the same view.
- 35.—Chowhatta Public Library in Pubna district, Rs. 32,000. By Moulvi Khoda Bux Khan Bahadur, Pubna.
- 36.—Khatura Charitable Dispensary, 24 Pergunnahs, Rs. 40,000. By Ram Gopal Rakhit.
- 37.—Patuakhali Charitable Dispensary, Rs. 8,000. By Nawab Sir Khajah Ashanullah Bahadur of Dacca.

- 38.—Karatia Mahamadia Entrance School, Mymensing.
By Motowali Wayed Ali Khan Pance, Rs. 200
monthly expense.
- 39.—Rungpore Drainage, Rs. 20,000. By Janoki Ballav
Sen, zemindar of Dimla, District Rungpore.
- 40.—Lowis Jubilee Sanitarium, Rs. 20,000, 'Janoki
Ballav House.' By Janoki Ballav Sen, zemindar
of Dimla, District Rungpore.
- 41.—Pramatha-Manmatha College, Tangail. By the
Chowdhury zemindars of Tangail.
Tangail Charitable Dispensary. By Jahnavi Chow-
dhurani of Tangail.
- 42.—Taki Government School Boarding House Building.
By Jotindra Nath Chowdhuri of Taki.
- 44.—Rajshaye College Endowment created by Raja Hara
Nath Rai Chowdhury Bahadur, of Dubalhati, who
granted in perpetuity an estate valued at more than
a lakh of rupees for the maintenance of the Raj-
shaye College.
- 45.—Ranaghat Charitable Dispensary and English and
Vernacular Schools. By the Pal Chowdhury zemin-
dars of Ranaghat. But the most *munificent act*
of their charity was the contribution of one *lakh* of
maunds of rice to the sufferers in the Madras
famine.
- 46.—Dinajpur Public Road and Charitable Hospitals at
Dinajpur and Raiganj, together with the English and
Vernacular and Gymnastic Schools at Dinajpur and
Kaliaganj. By Maharajah Tarak Nath Rai and
his widow Maharani Shyam Mohini of Dinajpur.
- 47.—Maduripore Bridge, Charitable Dispensary and
Bathing Ghât. By Chowdhury Golam Ali of
Haturia.
- 48.—Haturia Branch Road and Barisal Government
School. By same.
- 49.—Jagannath College, Dacca, founded and maintained
by Kisorilall Roy Chowdhury, zemindar of Beliatil
in the Dacca district in memory of his father
Jagannath Roy Chowdhury. Eight scholarships,
two of Rs. 6 per month each and six of Rs. 3 a
month, are awarded by the donor every year for the
benefit of the students.
- 50.—Harendra Lal College, Munshigonj, Vikrampur,
founded and maintained by Harendra Lal Roy
Chowdhury, the well-known millionaire and zemin-
dar of Bhagyakul.

- 51.—Bogra Public Park, named 'Altafanessa' Park. By Nawab Abdus Sobhan Chowdhury.
- 52.—Tahiranessa Female Hospital, Bogra, having an endowment yielding about Rs. 1,000 a year. By same.
- 53.—Noakhali Charitable Dispensary and Hospital, established 1860 and maintained mainly out of Bhulna Raja's estate.
- 54.—School and Charitable Dispensary, Kakina, Rungpore. By Raja Ram Ranjan Roy.
- 55.—Midnapore College, supported mainly by an endowment created by the zemindars of the district, which yields Rs. 3,000 yearly.
- 56.—Taki High School, endowed with a donation of Rs. 75,000 and a property having a yearly income of Rs. 300.
- 57.—Raj Chunder College, Barisal, supported solely by Bihari Lall Chowdhury, zemindar of Barisal, who has also founded several prizes, medals and scholarships for students.
- 58.—Bhagyakul Charitable Dispensary and Dacca Pundit's Institute. By Srinath Roy and other Zemindars of Dacca.
- 59.—Panihati High English School Masonry Building, Rs. 12,000. By Tran Nath Bannerjee.
- 60.—Faridpur Isan Institution. By a zemindar of Faridpur.

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ART. IV.—SHORTHAND: ITS USES AND ADVANTAGES.

MY object in writing this paper is to invite attention to a subject which seems to me to be, deserving of much greater attention than it has hitherto received in India; and the fact, that I am an old shorthand writer and deeply interested in that appertains to this subject, must be my sole excuse for venturing to deal with it.

Shorthand is generally supposed to be a product of modern times. But this is not the case; for, while it is undoubtedly true that the art has received an enormous impetus and development in comparatively recent times, shorthand can with certainty claim to be more than two thousand years old. It is a well-established fact that tachygraphy, which is only another name for shorthand writing, was practised in ancient days among the Greeks and Romans. About seven or eight years ago Mr. F. Maunde Thompson, the Librarian of the British Museum, was reported to have stated that a fragment of an inscription found recently on the Acropolis at Athens was nothing less than a portion of an explanation of a kind of shorthand, composed of arbitrary signs, as old as the fourth century before Christ. If the authenticity of this discovery be accepted, then there is good ground for the belief that has always existed among historians of shorthand, that Xenophon possessed a knowledge of shorthand and took down some of the speeches of Socrates. But, however this may be, it is stated in that storehouse of literature, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that the first undoubted mention of a Greek shorthand writer occurs in 195 A. D., in a letter to Flavius Philostratus. The tachygraphy practised by the Greeks is supposed to have grown from a system of secret writing which was developed from forms of abbreviation, and which the early Christians adopted for their own use. Tachygraphy flourished among the Romans. It was taught in their schools, and, among others, the Emperor Titus is said to have been skilful in this style of writing. Cicero's freedman, M. Tullius Tiro, is reputed to have been the author of a large collection of shorthand symbols which bear the title "Notæ Tironianæ;" and Tiro's system was used extensively during the first five centuries of the Christian era. But, with the decay of learning, shorthand fell into disuse; by the tenth century all practical acquaintance with the Greek and Roman systems of shorthand writing faded completely away, and it was not till the beginning of the seventh century that the art was revived to any appreciable extent, although even

during that interval various systems of shorthand were practised.

England was the birth place of modern shorthand, and it is supposed that the Reformation gave the first impulse to its cultivation. It is recorded that Bishop Jewel, a distinguished religious reformer, who had devised a kind of shorthand, acted as a notary at the great disputation of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, at Oxford in 1554, on the sacraments of the altar, and that he also acted in the same capacity at a disputation which took place on the same subject some five years earlier, when Peter Martyr and other reformers took part in the controversy. Dr. Timothy Bright published a system of shorthand in 1588, and it was followed two years later, by Peter Bales' *Arte of Brachygraphie*. In 1602 the *Art of Stenographie* by John Willis, made its appearance, and no less than 200 systems, all more or less based, like Willis', on what may be called the a. b. c. system, were published between that year and the year 1837, when Isaac Pitman's phonography stepped into the arena. Since the introduction of Pitman's system, some 300 other systems or more have appeared, but a very large proportion of these are merely imitations or modifications of that system.

It would take a great deal of time and space if I attempted to give any detailed description of these systems, and I must therefore content myself with simply remarking that, of the systems in vogue before Pitman's, the best known were those published by Shelton in 1620, which was adapted to German, Dutch and Latin; the system invented by William Mason in 1692, which was republished by Thomas Gurney in 1740, and has continued in use to a certain extent down to the present day; *The Universal English Shorthand* published in 1767 by John Byrom, sometime fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Byrom founded a stenographic club, and his system of shorthand received the distinction of a special Act of Parliament for its protection. Then in 1786 came Samuel Taylor's system of stenography, which it is stated did more than any of its predecessors to establish the art in England and abroad, for it came into use in France, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Germany, Portugal, Roumania, Hungary and other Continental countries. Of the numerous systems which made their appearance subsequent to Pitman's, those published by Professor Everett and Mr. A. M. Bell have been favourably mentioned; also Mr. J. M. Sloan's adaptation of the French system of Duployé.

But of all the modern systems of shorthand writing, the one which stands pre-eminent is that known as Pitman's Phonography. It was first published, as I have stated, in 1837; it

has passed through several thousand editions since that date and, as its name indicates, it is constructed on a purely phonetic basis. This method of shorthand writing is the one that is now most largely in use in Europe and America, and, in fact, all over the world; for, according to statistics which were published about five years ago (I have not been able to lay hands on later figures), 93 per cent. of newspaper reporters and 98 per cent. of shorthand clerks in England practise this system; while in the United States, 97 per cent. of the shorthand writers use either Isaac Pitman's Phonography or an American modification of it; and his system has moreover been adapted to twenty foreign languages. I dare say some of these percentages have risen a little more within the past year or two, although they are nearly at the hundred as they stand; but it would perhaps be generous to allow a little margin for the other systems.

I am a disciple of Pitman, and naturally feel a great admiration for his system. I have not studied any other methods of shorthand writing, and therefore can express no opinion on their merits or demerits; but the statistics I have quoted are, I venture to think, more than sufficient evidence of the superiority and popularity of Pitman's system over all others. The vast mass of a. b. c. systems of shorthand are said to be strikingly devoid of originality and mostly imitations of the few that I have mentioned; while nearly all are described as consisting of an alphabet, a list of arbitrary and symbolical signs, a table showing the best way of joining any two letters, a few general rules for writing, and a specimen plate. Pitman's system, on the other hand, stands on a purely phonetic basis, and its chief merit is its extreme brevity and legibility. It is eminently suited not only for the professional stenographer, but also for the various purposes of every-day life.

Now let us see what are the uses and advantages of shorthand writing. The general impression seems to be that it is really of use only to those who intend to adopt it as a means of livelihood. But this is a misconception which happily is being gradually dissipated. One of the chief anxieties of every busy person is to economise time, and if there is a time-saving art it is shorthand writing. It has been calculated that it would save to those who use it at least a sixth part, and often as much as one-fourth or one-half, of their working hours. Even if only one-sixth be taken as the saving, the economy would be found to be most material; for at this ratio a man who writes a good deal for, say, twenty of the most active years of his life would save about three years. It is nothing uncommon to hear that a man has resolved to keep a diary. But how often has the diary been begun and kept up for a time and then

suddenly discontinued, only because of the irksomeness of having to make the jottings in longhand. If shorthand had been employed instead, the entries would have been made much more quickly and a great deal more could be noted down than in longhand ; while, of course, the pleasure of being able to recall incidents in one's life would be permanently ensured. Then again, take the case of persons engaged in historical or literary research. What a great boon it would be if such students could escape the drudgery of having to copy out in longhand the raw material for their work. By the aid of shorthand a multiplicity of notes and quotations can be rapidly taken down, and a small note-book may thus be made to contain as much writing as at least half a dozen note books the contents of which are written in longhand. Indeed, it is recorded in one of the Phonetic Journals that, in a competition for a phonographic prize which came off in London some years ago, as to who should write the largest number of words in shorthand in a given space, the winner of the prize was found to have written legibly the whole of one of Goldsmith's plays on the back of a single half-penny cost card, besides a large quantity of other matter, amounting in all to some 32,000 words. It can, I think, be affirmed, however, without any fear of contradiction, that every part of the student's work involving writing can be better done in shorthand than in longhand, that more work can be done in the former than in the latter, and that the student who uses shorthand in the right way will learn more than the student who is without shorthand. This is true of students of all subjects, even foreign languages, for phonography enables one to seize, and fix, and preserve, a pronunciation which would otherwise fade quickly away from one's memory. Of course the phonographic signs that serve for English would require some little modification in order to be applied to certain foreign languages, but once the necessary modification has been made, a valuable aid to the study of foreign languages is acquired. Considering, therefore, that one of the chief difficulties in learning a foreign language is in connection with pronunciation, there can be no doubt that phonography can be very usefully employed in this direction. But it must be understood that phonography is not constructed to record every shade of sound heard in all the languages of the world, so that there are limits to its capacity in the representation of the sounds of foreign languages.

The use of shorthand has also been found to be of very great value to students of medicine in taking notes of lectures in anatomy, physiology, and other subjects, and to medical practitioners in jotting down the symptoms of a patient when at his bedside, and in making other notes. In fact, its value to

medical men is so fully recognised that the members of this profession in England have formed themselves into a Society of Medical Phonographers, with Sir William Gowers, M.D., as their President, and some hundreds of names on its rolls. The Society has its own shorthand magazine, and, in a pamphlet which it issued some time ago on "The use of Shorthand by the Student," it mentioned as an illustration the case of a student who took ~~epitome~~ notes in shorthand of the lectures he had been ~~giving~~ and relied exclusively on these notes for a knowledge of medicine. It is stated that he used ~~nothing~~ whatever, but made his notes serve all the purposes of systematic reading ; and when he sat for the M. D. examination of the London University, he not only passed it successfully but also gained the gold medal. It is, I think, hardly possible to cite a better example of the value of shorthand as an aid for the purposes of the student. The clergyman would also find shorthand very valuable in jotting down his thoughts as they occur in preparing his sermons, and of course he would also save a great deal of time. Similarly, the barrister would find it of the utmost use in noting down the leading points in his cases ; and so with various other professions.

As to the use of shorthand for military purposes, there can, I think, be no doubt that there is a wide field for its employment in other directions besides correspondence and the dictation of documents. Its value has been officially recognised within the past few years, and the military authorities are apparently desirous of promoting its study, as I find it is laid down in the Queen's Regulations, that, in order to encourage the study of foreign languages and of shorthand, which are both admitted to be especially useful to officers on the general and personal staff, and to obtain a record of the names of officers who are proficient in these subjects, an examination is held twice a year in London under the auspices of the Civil Service Commissioners. And in another paragraph the system of shorthand recommended for the Army is Pitman's, and it is stated that an officer who is in possession of Pitman's certificate, or a certificate from the Society of Arts, showing that he has a thorough knowledge of shorthand, will be recorded as proficient in that subject. As far as I have been able to ascertain, shorthand has made marked progress in the army in England, and there are many military shorthand classes and military shorthand examinations for Pitman's speed certificates, with money prizes for those soldiers who gain them. But I am afraid the importance of the subject is not recognised to the same extent in India ; and, in order to show the advantage which military officers would derive from

possessing a knowledge of shorthand, I shall quote an extract from a paper on "Shorthand in the Army" which was read by Captain J. C. Caunter of the 2nd Battalion, the Welsh Regiment, at the Royal United Service Institution, in London, about three years ago. He said:—"A staff officer has frequently to deal with matters of a confidential or semi-confidential nature, which must necessarily pass through *his* hands alone—such, for example, as the preparation of defence schemes and confidential reports, etc., and in making his rough copies a knowledge of shorthand would certainly save him *some* a week. When attending his chief at inspections, of

interviews, etc., he is constantly called upon to various points on which, later, reports have to be made and in such cases the few notes he is at present taking down in longhand are often totally inadequate. The use of a knowledge of shorthand in such positions is necessary both on the general and personal staff is indisputable. Every officer on the staff keeps, or should keep, a diary, and the smallness of the phonographic characters, in combination with the speed with which they can be conveyed to paper, make them peculiarly suited to this class of work. Staff officers are frequently appointed secretaries of committees, and are responsible for a correct report of the proceedings; much time is at present lost by the inability of these officers to write shorthand. Again, what a saving of time would result in taking down the proceedings of court martials, courts of enquiry, boards, etc., in shorthand!"

Captain Caunter also recommended the use of shorthand characters in military sketching, as the characters, being smaller than those employed in longhand, can be used to a greater extent on the face of the sketch, and consequently a great deal of information can be shown on the sketch or map which would otherwise have to be embodied in a separate report. He also advocated its use for the pigeon post, while he was of opinion that in the field the employment of shorthand would be even more valuable than in the office, as the importance of saving every minute on active service and of the speedy transmission of orders and reports could hardly be exaggerated. No doubt the field telegraph and telephone would be available in many instances, but cases would be of frequent occurrence in which this means of communication would not be at hand. On outpost duty reports in shorthand could be sent back much more fully and expeditiously than can be done at present in longhand; while it would be a great advantage if officers with patrolling or reconnoitring parties could record the results of their observations rapidly in shorthand instead of having to wait till they could find the time to do so in longhand.

Phonography would also be of great pilation of reports and histories of Captain Caunter further stated that of 1894 an officer who had been for phonographer took down the various commanding officers at the conclusions, with the result that at the had a full and instructive narrative of the ideas and intentions of and the manner in which they were carried out.

In the discussion which took place on paper, several officers spoke of although one or two of them, including expressed a doubt as to its use in both sketching and writing shorthand. It proved matters of considerable difficulty whose name I have already mentioned. The Society of Medical Phonographers debated and made some valuable remarks which are worth reproducing. He said

"It has always seemed to me that there must be at some time in the future when the value of the use of shorthand in the army would far transcend in importance other circumstances whatever. We have medicine and science have become acquainted with observation. If shorthand is written with the speed of longhand—and, so written, it is of no use to any one who has even a acquaintance with it—in a given time there is much of the facts observed, and, time is left for the process of observation. The value of shorthand depends largely on record for its value is comparatively unprecise. A man who writes down the facts that he is observing on this or that point he is vague, uncertain, and again and again as he describes the facts. The influence of shorthand is less than on its quality,—it enables work to be done. I am not correct in assuming that there is a difference in the value, the fulness of the observations made by the commanding officer and the fact that he brought them on the spot when the facts were compared with the less perfect result. He would also retain less accurately in

ess fully and precisely in longhand, might make all the difference between victory and defeat in a succeeding battle? That, of course, would be a rare circumstance, but it is surely possible? Apart from that, for an officer of the army who has much writing to do, shorthand is of extreme value for all purposes of personal writing, for all note-taking, note-making, for all drafting of reports, and the fact that with uniformity of system—which, as the lecturer has observed, can only at the present day be obtained with Pitman's system—a man's own writing is available for transcription or type-writing by any subordinate. I may mention that a most distinguished professional shorthand writer, who writes another system (I am not at liberty to mention his name, and so cannot mention the system), told me that he did not think it likely that in the future the ingenuity of man would devise a better system for general use than Pitman's."

That was what Sir William Gowers said, and I hope I have succeeded in demonstrating the value of shorthand for military purposes.

With regard to shorthand as a means of livelihood, it is a well-known fact that thousands of phonographers are earning their living in Europe and America, and that the sphere of shorthand has widened enormously in recent years. Newspapers have multiplied to an astounding extent, and of course their very multiplication has created a great demand for reporters. Phonographers are also required in ever increasing numbers by busy public men, statesmen, politicians, directors, and others, and I believe even authors are becoming more and more addicted to the practice of dictating their works to shorthand assistants, especially since the introduction of the type-writer, which by the way forms a valuable adjunct to shorthand writing; while commercial men, almost without exception, have their shorthand writers; in fact, a knowledge of the art has practically become a *sine quâ non* for admission into business houses in England and America. In 1890 the number of phonographic students in the United Kingdom was estimated at 55,000, and in 1895 it was close upon 100,000; similarly the number of institutions and classes in which Pitman's shorthand was taught was 1,260 in 1890, and it rose to close upon 2,400 in 1895. The British Government has also shown its appreciation of the merits of shorthand, as the subject has been included in the Technical Education Act of 1889, in the Education Code of 1891, and in the Evening School Code of 1893. The Universities, too, have displayed a kindly feeling towards it, as Cambridge has held a shorthand examination for junior students in connection with its Local Examinations for some years past, and Oxford has, I believe,

But, although a wide field of employment is also open in India for qualified shorthand writers, it seems to me that nothing like the same degree of progress in the study of this art has been made in this country as has been attained in Europe or America. For instance, there is not, so far as I am aware, such an institution as a Shorthand Writer's Association in the whole of the Bengal Presidency, although Madras, the Madras Presidency, has had a Shorthand Association in existence for the past six or seven years. I learned from a newspaper report the other day that the Association in Madras is at present presided over by a prominent educationist, with the Editor of the *Madras Times* as its Vice-President. Bombay also boasts of a branch of the National Phonographic Society, London. I have heard of shorthand classes in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and one or two other places, and shorthand is taught in some of the schools, but I do not think the subject has yet received all the attention that it deserves. It seems to me that something more is needed than the inclusion of shorthand as a completely optional subject in schools. In my humble opinion it is a subject for which facilities ought to be furnished equal to those provided for other studies. I do not see why, for instance, the schoolboy should not be encouraged to take down in shorthand, as far as possible, the lessons that are dictated to him in school hours. This very practice would help him to realize the value of shorthand, and would accustom him to rely upon it for his own purposes and to feel that it is something more than a minor accomplishment. Nor is there anything better calculated to keep alive and alert the student's interest in the subject than the habit of using it daily and on every possible occasion. Moreover, the habit of using it in school life would be a good preparation for its use in business life. I have seen it stated in the newspapers lately that there is some likelihood of the Cambridge Local Examinations being introduced into India. If this should turn out to be true, then there should soon be a marked improvement in the progress of shorthand in Indian schools. A good deal can also be done outside the school-room to promote the study of this very useful art. At all events, there is at present great room in India for the spread of phonography, and a large field of employment is open to those who desire to earn a living by it, either as newspaper reporters or in commercial or other business houses, or in Government offices. I have heard it more than once stated that there is a dearth of competent shorthand writers in India, and His Excellency the Viceroy,

in his reply to the Anglo-Indian deputation in Calcutta, a few months ago, drew attention to this matter, and suggested shorthand as affording a good opening for youths of the domiciled community. As with every other art, so with shorthand, there are many degrees of skill, and the remuneration varies accordingly. In order to be a good newspaper reporter it is necessary that a man should be able not only to take a verbatim note of a speech or address, but also to edit or trim it, if need be, or to condense it ; and this he will hardly succeed in doing unless he brings to bear the results of a good general education, considerable practice in composition, and an accurate perception of the right use of words. The question of salaries for shorthand clerks, as apart from other shorthand writers, such as newspaper reporters, was warmly discussed in England a few years ago, and the conclusion arrived at was that the salary of a shorthand clerk depends, and must always depend, more or less, upon efficiency in other things besides shorthand, and that no attempt to ignore the legitimate effect that differing degrees of ability, and varieties of accomplishment and skill, necessarily have upon salaries, will ever be successful.

A great deal has also been said with regard to the speed with which words are uttered, and the speed with which they are or can be taken down in shorthand. Of course there are record-breakers in shorthand as in other things, and I remember sometime ago seeing a report in which a young man at Leeds was credited with having attained the phenomenal speed of 297 words per minute. But it is only necessary to try the experiment of reading at that rate in order to see what an awful jargon of sound must result from the effort to articulate so many words a minute. Experience, however, has shown that the average rate of public speaking is very slightly over 120 words a minute, and that some speakers average 150. Occasionally the slowest utterance is exchanged for a rapid flow of words, and 180 or 200 words a minute is no uncommon speed in certain styles of speech, such as the conversational ; but this rate of speed is seldom acquired. Mr. T. A. Reed, the veteran phonographer, once successfully took down a sermon by a fluent American preacher, which was carefully timed, and, on the words being counted afterwards, the average came out at 213 words a minute. For all practical purposes, however, 120 to 150 words a minute is sufficient. For those who do not intend to make shorthand writing a profession, the ability to write at a much lower rate, say 60 to 80 words a minute will suffice.

Now, to sum up : it is hoped that the foregoing remarks will have shown that shorthand is valuable not only as a

means of livelihood, but also for the various purposes of every day life. To put it briefly—shorthand can be used in a large variety of ways, such as copying down quotations of all kinds, writing out the first drafts of letters, or literary compositions, posting up one's diary, either business or otherwise, taking notes of any particular science or art which one is studying and for which one is collecting the necessary data, jotting down memoranda, posting up one's private cash book, &c., &c.;—of course the journalist, the author, the lawyer, the clergyman, the doctor, the military officer, and other people, also find it valuable in various ways. And it will doubtless interest the members of the fair sex to know that there is nothing in phonography that presents greater difficulty to one sex than to the other, and that past experience has proved that where an equal amount of undivided attention is given to the study, very little difference is apparent in the result. Hundreds of women are now earning a living in Europe and America as shorthand writers and typists. I have therefore no hesitation in recommending the study of shorthand to ladies also, and, as women are as a rule more devotional than men, my advice to them is that, after they have made a certain amount of progress in its study, they should read the Bible in shorthand daily as an exercise!

A great recommendation for shorthand is to be found in the well-ascertained fact that the study of the art almost invariably engenders a taste for other studies, while the practice of note-taking enable the writer to fix at once upon the really substantial matter of a lecture or an address. The secret of success in shorthand is *practice*, and we have the opinion of the late Mr. John Bright, the orator (an opinion which is printed on the back of the title page of Pitman's Shorthand Instructor), that phonography is so exceedingly simple as to be easily learned by any one of ordinary capacity, and that if it be learned by a very large number of the people, the public benefits to be derived from it are incalculable. He also said that the art appeared to him to be likely to tend to increase the love of reading and writing, and of education generally. If I may be permitted to add my humble testimony, I also can state that I have derived much benefit intellectually since I acquired a knowledge of shorthand.

J. A. HYPHER.

ART. V.—GREEK WANDERINGS.

Continued from July 1900, No. 221.

XII.—IN AND ABOUT ATHENS.

ONE goes to Athens primarily to see the Parthenon, the Acropolis rock, the Erectheum, the temple of Wingless Victory, the Theseum, the Dipylon, the Street of Tombs. For these alone one might well go through fire and water. One goes for these, and not less to visit the birth-place of Sophocles and Plato, the city of Solon and Themistocles, of Pericles, Socrates and Xenophon; in a word, from archæological zeal and in the interest of 'the humanities.' And you get all this and a great deal besides which ensures your enjoying a delightful holiday, as well as seeing works of art and visiting sites that would repay you over and over again, even had you to cross deserts and face perils and privations, instead of having a thoroughly good time. You are in the midst of some of the most beautiful scenery to be found anywhere in the world, and, if you choose your time aright, may revel in one of the most perfect of climates, constant sunshine, cooling breezes, an air so light and exquisite that you feel as if you were an inhabitant of some higher plane, 'an ampler ether, a diviner air.'

Then modern Athens herself is a city of many amenities and is by no means without resources for amusement. Her streets are fair and broad and clean,—no European capital can boast of wider or better: her Squares are thronged, and you may watch the crowd agreeably enough as you sip your coffee or 'mastieh' in front of one of the many and excellent 'café's', that abound therein. There are plenty of good shops in Stadium Street and Hermes Street, and you can get all you are likely to want at fairly moderate prices. Anything of native production you will find cheap, ridiculously cheap, when payment is made in paper money and not gold. Even the enhanced value of your sovereign is no small advantage. You may lay out ten drachmas in olive sticks, or 'antiquities,' or photographs, and yet receive in exchange eight and twenty paper drachmas, which have the purchasing power of as many francs in respect of home products. In the country, except in two or three tourist-ridden places, your paper drachma will even go further than a French franc, because the necessities of life are cheap and you can get no luxuries. You may have a cup of Turkish coffee, a modest measure of wine, two lumps of Loukoumi, or Turkish Delight, a liqueur glass of mastieh

or a great hunch of bread, buy a box of matches or have your boots polished for ten *lepta*, *i.e.*, one-tenth of a drachma, and, when the drachma is depreciated to the value of sixpence, that is, as near as may be, a half penny.

If it is hot, you can obtain delicious ices in Athens, as excellent as any in Europe, the best in Stadium Street hard by the Hotel d'Athenes; and marvellous forms of 'Confiserie,' which should be tasted for experience sake even if you have not a sweet tooth; while, if you have, they will sufficiently commend themselves. Cigarettes are abundant and good, and cheap or dear as you prefer. The up-country Greek likes to make his own, and to that end purchases a packet of tobacco and screws up cigarettes with a cunning twist of the fingers—with one hand only if the other is engaged; and the result, if irregular in shape, appears to be practically satisfactory. But there is great variety of made cigarettes for the Athenian demos and the aristocracy, either cigarettes made in Athens of Turkish tobaccos, or Egyptian and other foreign kinds at fancy prices. Cigars are rarely met with and dear, the English pipe unsmoked except of the foreigner; but the 'hookah' is often 'on hire' at coffee-houses both in Athens and up-country.

One of the features of modern Athens that especially delights the new-comer with a classical education is the Greek characters painted on the shop-fronts and hoardings. It is with a thrill of something like bewilderment and awe that one at first deciphers ΚΑΠΝΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΑΡΤΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΒΙΒΛΙΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΠΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ, ΝΕΩΤΕΡΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΙΑ, and so on; the names of the streets and plazas are long a source of surprise and delight, recalling at every turn some famous personage or history—Xenophon Street, Euripides Street, Aeolus Street, all posted up with classical correctness in the genitive, as, for instance, ΟΔΟΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ, ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ. A street is ΟΔΟΣ, a boulevard ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΣ, a square ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ, a railway station ΣΤΑΘΜΟΣ.

There are two great Squares in Athens, the finest and more patrician the ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΣΥΝ ΤΑΓΜΑΤΟΣ, or Place de la Constitution, the great centre for visitors, surrounded by the best known and most expensive hotels: part of its open space is a public garden, with paths and trees and convenient benches in shady places, part a pavement set out with little tables and chairs, besides a stall or two for the sale of papers—the chairs occupied on fine evenings by the overflow from the great 'Café' at the corner near Stadium Street. There is an excellent restaurant here, the Syntagma, an excellent photographer's, D. B. Rhomaides, two magnificent 'Cafés', the Mega and another of which I forget the name. The other great square is the place de la Concorde ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ, pronounced

(O'monia in the Nominative) on which converge Stadium Street, University Street, Athena Street, the road to Piræus and the road to Pateria. This is the popular centre (a man was shot there in an attempted revolution in 1888), and is likewise given over to coffee-houses and their habitués. It is also a great station for the Athenian shoe-black brigade. The shoe-blacks of Athens or Lowstree (λοῦστροι) are a perpetual joy. Nowhere in the world is there so efficient or so picturesque an organization for boot-cleaning. Nowhere in the world is there so much brushing of boots in the public streets. Nowhere in the world are the shoe-blacks a more prosperous and self-respecting guild of handicraftsmen. Nowhere in the world does the shoe-black take such pride in his profession or possess such elaborate apparatus. The craft is followed both by boys and men, and I notice in ten years a perceptible increase in the number of men who have set up boxes, which seems to indicate that the calling is lucrative. The men are generally the most accomplished artists; but it offends one's sense of fitness to see grown men, who might be doing soldier's work, sitting in a row along with boys behind shoe-black boxes. But what boxes! Many of them are elaborately faced with brass-work in knobs and patterns, and are a perfect miracle of decorative ingenuity. They gleam afar as one approaches. Nor is this all. The stock-in-trade of a first-grade Athenian shoe-black is considerable indeed. In front of his box is an array of a dozen or more kinds of polish, black, brown, red, yellow. He never fails to use four or five brushes for the several operations of preparing and finishing a pair of boots. Then he keeps by him two or three smart strips of material, velvet it appears to be, dark green, or mauve, or old gold, with which he puts on a final polish. And very perfect is the finished result. Verily the Athenian shoe-black is an artist in boot polish! The boys, too, are perfectly delightful, so alert and healthy-looking and well-fed, with beautiful sun-tinted complexions; and Dr. Barrows says they all go to night-schools. The London shoe-black brigade is a great institution, but, with less of obvious organization and no uniform, the Athenian brotherhood could give it points!

The boys range freely over the squares and about some of the less important thoroughfares; but at certain points they are posted in stationary orders, specially along the wall between the Post Office and Stadium Street, where the array of boxes is one of the sights of Athens. The recognized fee is, for brown boots, a penny (*i. e.*, ten lepta), for black a half-penny (five lepta.)

The climate of Athens in winter is said to be delightful, being moderately cold with plenty of bright sunshine,

but it is not easy at that season to make excursions—at least one must take one's chance of bad weather. March and April have been marked out by nature as the appointed season for a visit to Greece. Snow in March is not absolutely unknown in Athens, but it is, at all events, unusual. Before the end of April the sun in Athens is getting really powerful, but with a little management the day can be arranged so as to avoid the worst fervours. The wise man will rise early, can sleep with your window open, and the dawn stir in the streets will wake you between 5 and 6. But of bed early indeed to be up before Athens

Among the pleasantest of the morning sounds are the tinklings of the goat-bells in the streets, little companies of she-goats with swelling udders, that convey the early morning milk past the very dwellings of the citizens of Athens. Take out your jug and you may have it filled with rich foaming goat's milk before your eyes, and there can be no doubt you get it pure and fresh. Nearly the whole of the milk supply in Athens (and in all Greece) is the produce of the goat. There is little cow's-milk, cattle being bred almost solely for draught purposes in the fields, and these only few in number. You soon get used to goat's milk and find it pleasant enough, if a trifle rich. Another kind of drink that goes round and is delivered at Athenian doors is the water from a spring near Athens, which, like the Ganges water in India, is supposed to have special virtues. The water is put into big earthen-ware jars of antique shape, the jars are placed in wicker crates and carried in carts through the streets. But to return to the routine which uses the day to the best advantage when the midday heat begins to grow excessive. It is well to take one's morning coffee early and get out to the Acropolis or some other open-air site. You can count on meeting a pleasant sea-breeze abroad most days and can probably stay out without discomfort till 11, or later, as you find it. Any time from 12 to 1 is judicious for déjeuner. You are then at the hottest part of the day, and will find it pleasantly cool in the hotel dining-room. Museums are habitually closed at 12, remain shut till 1 or 2, so these offer no refuge at midday. If you plan to go to a Museum in the morning, you must be prepared to be turned out at 12. The early afternoon, however, makes a good time for putting in a couple of hours at the National Museum or in the small but fascinating museum on the Acropolis. As the heat moderates between 4 and 5 it will be pleasant enough out-of-doors, and you can saunter to the Dipylon or Colonus, or start in good time to watch the sunset from the platform of the Temple of Nike or the top of Lycabettus.

You get a fine view from Lycabettus. This makes a capital evening's walk, a fairly stiff climb without being at all formidably laborious. The summit is 900 feet above sea level, and you can get up comfortably in about half an hour. The easier ascent is from the S. E. side of the hill, but it is also possible to get up by a steeper and rougher path on the opposite side. The sunset from Lycabettus should not be missed. You see all Athens lying spread out at your feet, Hymettus, the Acropolis, the plain, the sea beyond and the sun's disc descending past towards the ridge of Sharmanga. Behind you have the Boeotian hills.

The Gardens of the Royal Palace make another pleasant afternoon resort, and as they are well-watered and cool and shady, you can go comparatively early, as soon as they are open in fact, for the public, are only admitted between 3 and 5, and on certain days in the week. It is a great privilege, characteristic, perhaps, of the democratic air of Athens that the public are admitted at all, for they are the private gardens of the King's actual residence. These gardens make the one broad patch of green in any bird's eye view of Athens, and a thick and beautifully variegated patch-work of greenery it is. They extend behind the Palace as far as the Zappeion and are bordered on one side by the Boulevard Amalia, on another by the Kephissia Road (where you find the entrance). Though of no great extent, the gardens are extremely beautiful and contain a multitude of fine trees, many of rare kinds, as well as abundance of flowers: wafts of delicious fragrance meet one in the paths. Naturally, there being no Park in Athens, the Royal Gardens attract the Athenian nurse-maid, but, as observed, she does not compare favourably from an æsthetic standpoint with her sisters in Kensington Gardens.

You will probably dine a little late, because you will wish to make fullest use of the day-light. It is possible to get dinner comfortably and without difficulty up to 9 P.M. After dinner a gentle stroll through the well-lighted streets is both wholesome and agreeable, perhaps to the cheerful precincts of the Palace Square, perhaps along the Boulevard Amalia to the tall mysteriously looming columns of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, perhaps a little further till you come under the dark outline of the Acropolis hill. All the things that have delighted you by day, will delight you also by night, with that added charm of strangeness which even in the adult age of mankind is inseparable from the shades of night. In that wierd dimness, under the vast shadowy mass of the Acropolis, fortress wall and temple and theatre are restored with a more potent art than that of the mason, and imagination takes you

back more really into ancient Athens than ever in the glaring light of day. If the moon shines for your pleasure, the better your fortune. Here, too, the beneficent enchantress shall exert her subtle influences, enhance for you the relics of Hellas as magically as she transmutates into beauty dull everyday things at home.

You will find the night air in April mild and soft, but deliciously cool after the fervours of the day. You may very possibly finish your evening with an ice, or black coffee, or a sumptuous Athenian *Καφεν*, most enjoyable evening; out of doors at a little table by the street or in the open space of the Palace. Within doors at your Café you may look at English and French illustrated papers, see the politicians and journalists of modern Athens playing dominoes, and, it may be, listen to music. Then best back and early to bed, so as to be up at sunrise next day. Yet if you crave for amusement, Athens, though neither Paris nor London, is not wholly destitute of means of gratification. There is (occasionally) French opera at one or other of the theatres, or it may be indigenous comedy, and always the Theatre of Varieties in Stadium Street. Athens is certainly not a dissipated capital, and early to bed is the better rule of life while at Athens in the spring. If you have a chance of seeing a play of Sophocles performed by Athenian amateurs, that is another matter! It happened in this wise. It was Monday, April 17th, and we were to start that evening by steamer for Itea and Delphi. To see Delphi and what the French have done there was an essential part of our scheme of pilgrimage. A hard necessity had compelled us to take passages by a steamer that was to start for Marseilles on Sunday morning, April 23rd. There was consequently no possible postponement of the trip to Itea. But we had seen with emotion that the *Electra* of Sophocles was to be performed at the Grand Theatre, at 9 P.M., on this very Monday, and it was a source of chagrin that it should have fallen out that we were leaving Athens that night. We learnt, however, after a rather intricate process of enquiry—for some degree of mystery is maintained about the movements of Greek coasting steamers—that our boat did not start till midnight, and hope revived. There was a train to Piræus at 11 P.M. and the Piræus station was only five minutes' walk from the theatre. It would be possible to see at least a portion of play. We laid our plans carefully to this end. Accordingly at 9 o'clock in the evening we are at the Grand Theatre in Athens, occupying seats in 'Loges F.' and waiting for the curtain to rise on the *Electra* of Sophocles, to be performed by actors whose mother tongue is none other than Sophocles' own. It is a fine theatre

nearly as large as Covent Garden, and Loges F, albeit the price of our seats is quite moderate, are in an excellent position, much that of an upper circle. The theatre is not more than fairly well-filled. We buy a 'book of the words' and—proh pudor—it is all modern Greek prose! Can it be that Sophocles in his native Athens has come to this? A trumpet blows fanfaron; the curtain rises and reveals the front of the palace of Aegisthus—once Agamemnon—in Argos (it should be in Mycenæ by rights,—presumably the palace, of which we have seen the skeleton within the Lion Gate and above the circular Agora—but the anachronism is Sophocles' and deliberately intended). Before the aged 'paidagogos', or tutor of Orestes has spoken a dozen lines we exchange glances of relief. This is undoubtedly the Greek of Sophocles—disguised for English ears, yet, certainly not *more* unlike the Greek spoken in Athens in the fifth century, B. C., than the English school variety—and verily it is the Oxford text we have before us almost letter perfect.

"O too strate tegeésantos en-Tíreah pantèh
Agamènnonous peh, neen ekeen' exerte see
Paraunte lefseen, aun pranthemaus cesth' ab—eé."

This is as close a representation as I can make of the sound of the first three lines, and the stress, be it above all recognized is always laid *exactly on the syllable marked with the accent in the text before you.*

One is at once struck with the excellence of the elocution, and this impression becomes much strengthened when presently Electra comes on. A noble figure is this pale, sombre, strong-hearted Electra, a stronger character than Antigone, though not so loveable; and she is nobly represented by the lady who plays the part to-night. We are at once drawn into sympathy with the passion that is consuming her, the passion of hate against the murderers of her father, the passion of longing for the coming of the avenger, the man-child saved by her own hands to this end and now grown to manhood, a longing rendered more acute by hope deferred. The action of the play is a little slow at first, but grows livelier with the entrance of Clytemnæstra. The conflict of words between mother and daughter has terrible significance in the light of what has gone before and what is to follow. The situation offers a powerful psychological study—two characters, fatally opposed by circumstances, yet he ties that should be closest and tenderest. A suspicion and fear is brought to a head burst; the lamentings of remorse are re- self-vindication. Electra, schooled to , replies with enforced calm, but with

a pitiless logic that thinly veils the passion of scorn and abhorrence with which she is quivering : the terrible lines—

ἦ τις ξυνεύδεις τῷ παλαμναίῳ, μεθ' οὗ
πατέρα τὸν ἄμυν πρόσθεν' ἐξάπώλεσας
καὶ παιδοποιεῖς.

reach a climax of intensity, heightened by the very repression of energy in which they are spoken by Electra : her voice shrill and emphatic grows more thrilling, and the last two lines are uttered from her lips in a strained whisper of horror and

The drama is given continuously without a break as far as the end of the second choral ode (1057—1097). Then the curtain descends. Electra easily carries off the honours so far : Clytemnæstra is, by contrast, a little wanting in force and dignity ; but she rises in power as she passionately defends the justice of Agamemnon's murder and tells the story of Iphigenia's death. Orestes has as yet had no opportunity. The chorus we think somewhat stiff and lifeless : we have seen a better drilled chorus at Bradfield, at Cambridge, at Oxford. The music is adequate : the staging indifferent. But the interest has been intense : a performance excellent in itself enhanced by the underlying consciousness that we are in Athens. Alas that we may not stay for the marvellous scene in which Orestes makes himself known to Electra, at the moment she believes herself to be weeping over his ashes. In this play all the action is crowded into the last third. But we are to get to the Piræus to-night and we must not again come under the spell—

So we rise and reluctantly turn to go. But that is not so easily done. We are met by a ludicrous difficulty. Our box closes with a spring and by some accident has no handle on the inside. We are temporarily prisoners. We try to attract the attention of some attendant in the passage behind, but to no purpose. We have no time for ceremony, therefore climb with apologies into the next box and so out—not a little to the amusement of the occupants. We take up our packs from the Café restaurant below, where we had left them, and are soon whirling on our way to Piræus.

IX HYMETTUS—PHYLE.

A long afternoon suffices for the ascent of Hymettus, though, being 3,369 feet high at the summit, it is no despic . . . We started up about half past one, and got down again ground just before dark, but another hour on . . . have been a gain. We quitted the city . . . in the neighbourhood of the Zappeion, seemed to lead straight for the great br

a space of about three miles to be traversed before you really begin to climb—partly level, partly undulating. Then the climbing is decidedly stiff. There is more than one recognized track over Hymettus, but it is quite feasible to go straight up, not troubling about paths, but taking your own line, at all events we fare well enough in this way. We do indeed unexpectedly fall in with a quarry and get entangled for a time, but, once clear of this, the rest of the ascent is straightforward enough, and sufficiently laborious. The rock is intricately cut and scarred by the effects of weathering, and it is an exacting occupation steering between cracks and boulders and making good your footing from one sharp edge to another. Around, growing sparsely among the rocks, are the plants and bushes that produce the wonderful russet glow over Hymettus that you notice at sunset. You don't see the bees, though doubtless they are somewhere about, if one knew the right places to look for them, since honey of Hymettus still loads the early breakfast-table in Athens. But Hymettus is no dainty hillock, no single detached hill like Primrose Hill, or even Lycabettus, but a lofty ridge several miles long. We were on the top of this ridge by half past four, but the summit was still very much higher away to the N. E. Then begin the unique pleasures of the climb over Hymettus. When you fairly gain the edge of the ridge, you have on the two sides of you one of the most extraordinary of panoramas. The whole length of Attica is spread out below, bisected as it were by the razor edge along which you are picking your way. The view extends far beyond Attica, southward to Cos and Andros, and northward over the Boeotian border and across Euboea.

We press on along the ridge, cross one deep concavity in the contour, and have gained the highest point a little after 8. Fascinating as is the outlook, we must not linger long, or the sun sets soon after 6, and it will be awkward to be caught by the dusk in the rough steepnesses by which we must descend to complete the circuit back to Athens. Here, of course, the view all round reaches its widest expanse. It is not quite a clear evening; so we get only hazy vision of the islands, but the whole peninsula of Attica is laid out plainly like a map and both coastlines at full length between.

A considerable township or village is conspicuous close under the ridge on the west: this must be Lioperi. On the west-coast the eye distinguishes the islets of Rapti: on the east, beyond the Bay of Phalerum, Clobas, C. Kavonras, and the rocky island Phleba: S. W. down the length of the peninsular, one looks over Laurium and C. Colonna: far to the north-west one discerns the snow of Mount Dirphis in

Euboea, far to the north-east the snow of Parnassus, and nearer a perfect maze of mountains, in different directions, Geranea Helicon, Athæron, Parnes to the left, Pentelicus close in front, to the right the mountains of Euboea.

Wheler, who climbed Hymettus in March, 1675, calls ~~this~~ the most charming prospect my eyes ever beheld! We tear ourselves away with difficulty and plunge down, for it grows late. If you are as short of time as we were, pray that you may have a good leader as I had for this headlong descent! I follow as well as I can, bounding from rock to rock, down and down precipitously. We take the whole three and a half hours and feet at a burst, and stand in a rough sheep-track on comparatively level earth by half past six. Then it is a simple matter to walk in towards the light of Athens, following along the dry bed of a stream. But it is dark before we get close under the looming shape of Lycabettus and strike the Kephissia road.

It is worth a little trouble to see Phyle. Phyle is a border stronghold in the recesses of Mount Parnes, commanding the midmost of the three passes between Attica and Boeotia, and is connected with the last heroic periods in Greek history previous to the outbreak of the war of independence. It is a fortress built by Greek engineers of the fifth century, B. C., standing to this day in a wonderfully complete state of preservation. Apart from its associations, it is most romantically situated, and the way thither lies through scenes of great beauty.

You can drive to Chasia at the foot of the hills, if you please, by a bad road, but thence you must walk or ride; if you don't mind about six hours fairly stiff going and can spare a day from early morning till 5 o'clock, there are sound reasons for avoiding the carriage and making a walk of it. With a little help from the railway, which saves you the dull and dusty bridge over the plain, it is an ideal walk.

The manner of it is this. Train from the Peloponnesos station at 7 in the morning to Epáno Lióna at the point where the railway sweeps round to take its own line through the low hills into the plain of Eleusis, some 7 miles on the way to Phyle. From the little station at Epáno Lióna take a path to the right through groves and fields till you strike into the carriage road. Follow this road (the carriage road from Athens) through the village of Chasia and when it dwindles away continue by the mule-track. It is about half a mile to the road and three miles to Chasia.

You ascend slowly and are soon on the skirts of Parnes, among firs and scrub and wild flowers. Pause for a moment as you begin to wind into hill country. A great wall of rock

towers up to the right, the whole upper portion of its precipitous face stained a brilliant iron-red. Big grey ridges extend beyond and back. Below are rough hillocks sparsely wooded. To the left of the road are cultivated fields, the soil in places of that rich russet brown which is so characteristic a feature of the earth in many parts of Greece; and in the hill-side beyond a series of curious caves. As for the carriage road, it is gloriously uneven and plentifully strewn with stones both large and small.

Chasia, which is hidden in a dip to the right till you are close on it, is a long straggling village. Prosperous and well-to-do it looks in a homely way, and here, as we enter it, is a happy group of small children whose round faces and merry looks are pleasantly suggestive of health and plenty.

Chasia has a tidy church surrounded by a small enclosure which is just now one sumptuous mass of white iris lilies. At either end of the main street is a comfortable Oenopoleon. A burly host at the first gives us a bluff greeting and opines we are going to Phyle. The fact is undeniable.

Past Chasia the path continues through an open valley and for a time descends again. Evidently it is washing-day at Chasia. The women are gathered on this side of the village over great tubs steaming with hot water, or surging with lather—women well set up and comely, both young and old, who give us cheerful greeting as we pass. About three quarters of a mile on; a valley open on the left with glimpses of distant mountains; a red path winds down it to Eleusis, a little on; still descending; and we come to the bed of a broad stream—now quite dry. At this point the real climb into the Pass begins. Here, too, ways diverge and there is need of a little wariness. We cross the stream and at once ascend the steep hill opposite. The path to the right, running invitingly along the side of the ravine above the bed of the stream, leads to Panagia ton pleiston; a delightful little monastery perched at the end of a sort of blind alley right under the great wall of Parnes, which there bars all further progress. This is a spot by all means to be visited, but we happen to be going first to Phyle. Therefore for us the more toilsome scramble up the side of the hill.

We climb upward alongside a rough torrent-way that shows as a reddish streak over the prevailing grey of the rock. The path, if it really is a path, is at first rugged in the extreme, a fortuitous concourse of loose stones; rounded or jagged as it happens. Hill paths are sometimes like this in Greece. As we get higher it improves greatly (or possibly we fall in with a better path, for in independent route-marching in Greece these points are sometimes obscure), and becomes after a

time a very decent path, an irreproachable path, a path to grace a park or pleasure garden. Such are the vicissitudes of travel in Greek mountains. The ascent, too, which was steep for a time, now becomes more easy: we wind pleasantly at a gentle slope among the pines, working gradually round the shoulder of the ridge and into the bosom of Parnes. Now and again we get glimpses back to Chasia, or over the gorge of the stream we crossed below, and the path to the Panagia. The further we go and the higher we get, the more delightful the scenery, at once mountainous and sylvan, and the more pleasant for the most part good, albeit we experience occasional relapse into the knobbly cobbles variety of the hills.

So far our general direction has been towards the great wall of red rock, which is none other than the mighty cliff that shuts in Panagia ton Kleeston. Now our tract turns away from this and trends more to the west; tops the ridge and opens an immense ravine on the left. As we make on along the side of the cliff we presently find ourselves looking from a kind of rocky bastion full upon the fortress surmounting an (apparently) isolated peak far on across the great valley. The massive walls above the pine-woods cannot be mistaken, and the level of the fort looks little higher than our bastion. So far this is encouraging; but, on the other hand, the pine-clad hill is still a long way off, even as the crow flies, and between us and it yawns an immense chasm, nor is it yet quite apparent how we are to get round or across it. The path we are on appears to continue right past the fort of Phyle to the right, or no other track is discernible. An old woman who passes with a donkey gives no satisfactory answer, being stupider, or less amiable, than accords with our usual experience. There is nothing for it but to go on in faith. This we do and by degrees the way becomes clear before us.

After about nine hours steady going from the ravine of the Panagia we descend on to a broad sheet of sloping ground above a spacious hollow well-grown with corn. Here our tract, after the manner of Greek mountain paths—when they emerge upon some broader expanse of upland or lowland, where deviation is possible,—opens, sub-divides and leaves us in the lurch. On one side we have a grey steep of tumbled boulders prolonging the ridge along which we have lately been moving; on the other a deep hollow with a little brook below, and directly opposite across the stream the pine-clad height on the summit of which is our fortress. There is probably a path up if we knew where, but none at all events is to be seen. A woman at work in the fields—it is wonderful how, despite the frequent loneliness of the highlands of Greece, a god (or

goddess) from the machine, in human form, nearly always supervenes in moments of perplexity—points across the hollow. So, in default of a path, we strike up through the pines, judging the direction as accurately as possible, and emerge, after some ten minutes climb, right under the wall of the fortress.

We clamber in and are soon looking over Athens from Phyle's brow (over, not *at*, for it is not a good day for distant views). Without doubt it is a fine position; its efficacy in commanding the pass is not quite so convincingly manifested to an unscientific eye. The fort seems to stand a little aloof from the line of march. The construction of the fortress is in one respect very curious: only rather more than one-half of the area of the summit is actually fortified. That is to say, walls defend the E. end of the rock and some portion of the N. and S. side, while the remainder of the rock is undefended except by the natural strength of the position. One can easily believe, however, that the existing defences would suffice. The walls, it is to be noticed, roughly face the pass (the fort does not, it must be understood, stand foursquare to the points of the compass) and specially strengthen the E. side, by which alone the hill is directly accessible. The N.-W. end overhangs a precipice that is quite unscaleable. You can sit on a jutting rock, and, if you have a steady head, look perpendicularly into the torrent-bed below. The rock might, perhaps, be climbed on the N. side, below the point where the masonry ends, but a good look-out would guard against this danger. Still it is a remarkable fact that a fortress should have been so built with walls round one-half of the circuit to be defended.

The masonry has all the evenness and finish of the best Hellenic work: the fort is, in fact, as it stands to-day, a splendid piece of military architecture. The fine state of preservation of the greater part of it is remarkable. There are two small, but solid constructed towers readily traceable: a square tower at the S. E. corner and a round tower at the N. E. corner. In the square tower one can count seventeen courses of stones, all of the same and size regularly laid. The original gateway into the fort is near the S. E. angle and is so constructed that a storming party must expose their right or unshielded sides to the weapons of the defenders.

Finer situation for a fortress could hardly be. It stands out defiantly on the top of its rounded, pine-clothed hill, amid scenery which is on all sides wild and impressive. It is the very place for a robber stronghold or the last sanctuary of free men who disdain submission at the price of liberty. Deep ravines run past it on all four sides—more open and even cultivated on the side of the pass, grimly abysmal behind.

On one side only is the hill accessible, that by which we have come through the thick screen of pines; a steep slope, but not abrupt as on the other sides. Looking forth from the ramparts in any direction, we face lofty ridges of grey rock; intermittently wooded, while on the ~~lower steep~~ the patches of corn between the pines make a fine contrast of colour. Generally the higher parts of the rock are bare, but the pines overspread the hills very irregularly, thick on some heights; scanty on others. In one place even the bright green of the corn ~~is seen~~. The rock on the ridges and where it crops out ~~is~~ the green below is mostly grey; but up the great ravine the russet red prevails. The outlook back S. E. over *Chasia* is (in the immediate foreground) exceedingly stern and rocky; but beyond that rugged ridge top Athens and the sea are, we know, somewhere in the haze, just visible on a clear day over the great screen that shuts out most of the plain.

To this rock, in the Spring of B. C. 403, came Thrasybulus and a small band of patriots, fugitives from the oppressive rule of the thirty. They seized the post and held it: Their numbers rose in course of time from 70 to 1,000; for all who hated tyranny and still hoped for a free Athens flocked to join the champion of democracy: and at length Thrasybulus felt strong enough to march down and seize the Piræus (more staunchly democratic than the city). A conflict was fought on the hill of *Umuzchia* and through the streets of the harbour town. The exiles were victorious, and, after a protracted struggle, Athens recovered her free constitution. Thus did Thrasybulus lift up again the prostrate Athenian *Demos*, when humiliated and fallen through the issue of the Peloponnesian War; "a man" says Pausanias, in speaking of his tomb near the Academy, "who in every respect surpasses all who either before or since have been deemed worthy of account among the Athenians." It does not seem that Phyle has had any history since.

The way had proved long, and we only clambered into Phyle a little before noon. The fascination of the place is indescribable and time passed only too quickly. But for us to-day there is a time-limit under severe penalties. We must catch the 4-30 train at *Epano-Liona* or walk in across the plain: (for the later train runs through). It is half past one as we start down. Just before we leave the walls, the mist happily lightens, and we get dim but undoubted vision of the Acropolis of Athens and *Lycabettus* through an obscuring veil. Then resolutely down at our best speed. Descending, there is no difficulty in following the path we missed coming up; nor is it wonderful we did not find it then, seeing that as soon as it reaches the hollow it is temporarily lost.

Presently the way divides; then arises debate. Strange that things look so differently when approached from opposite stand points. Neither of us recalls this parting of the ways, and as for general direction, one says right and the other left. Sounds of descending steps in the path above our heads and pleasant voices, one especially soft and musical. Here is some one to set us right. There appears a loaded donkey driven by an elderly woman and a girl—the girl yet without doubt exceedingly pretty, with fair complexion, amber-coloured eyes and the most engaging of smiles. A joyous-hearted maid withal, that ripples with merriment at the dilemma of the strangers and their halting attempts to explain their difficulty in the Greek tongue. The strangers all at once forget their hurry and conform their steps to the sober pace of the beast of burden. Then, the direction satisfactorily ascertained, having no further excuse to linger, hurry on again pursued by that gay and musical laughter and haunting images of frank eyes and ingenuous glances free from foolish self-consciousness.

How remains personally to me a mystery, but we presently see below us the gorge to Panagia ton Kleeston, the pathway and the picturesque ravine we crossed this morning before beginning the ascent the pass. We are actually descending on it, thus achieving what we wished to do, but had not attempted for want of time. We are in another pathway after all and it is evidently the direct path from Phyle to the Panagia. We zigzag down, passing a party of women on pilgrimage to the shrine. There can be no doubt of it. Here is the grassy platform whereon I remember to have halted when my errant feet strayed hither ten years ago and here, not fifty paces on, to the left, is the gate of the monastery. The way to Chasia and the railway is right; but the Panagia is well worth seeing and we are too near to turn our backs on it now. So we join the crowd footing it towards the great wall and reach a wooden gateway which closes the path. Evidently from the number of peasants in their best clothes crowding the little courtyard within as well as the path, it is some festival to-day: a woman's festival, too, for nearly all are women. We pass in meeting the same pleasant looks and greetings as elsewhere in this amiable country: you will find no morose spirit of religious exclusiveness in Greece. On the right of the courtyard is a shed in which a number of beasts are stalled, on the left, against the cliff, a house or houses, forming doubtless the monastery, and beyond a sort of cavern in which cooking operations are in progress. We first ask for a drink and find the water delicious; then look through the door at the further end of the courtyard. It leads to a

small ledge directly under the great barrier of rock, and this is now crowded with pious women. There is also a little church built against the rock close to the gate. We chafe inwardly for want of more kodak films; but our last bolt was shot at Phyle.

A pleasant-looking monk leans over a balustrade in front of the monastery and invites us up. He produces a bottle from a cupboard and carefully fills a liqueur glass. It is masticha, not masticha of a special quality, very different from that sold in ordinary wine-shops. As in the Benedictine monastery it is here: the monks brew the best liquor. We offer him all offering for the church, and our host opens a cupboard and exhibits some quaintly carved spoons of olive wood. They are his own work and really out of the common. We take all he has (which is only five) paying 2 drachmas a-piece. Then we are obliged to say good-bye with apologies for the necessity of haste. But it is a lasting regret we had not more time (or films) for Panagia ton Kleeston. We have now only an hour-and-a-half for the two hours to Epano-Liona. As we hurry along the path we meet a succession of parties on their way to the church, some on ponies, but most on foot, many of the women *barefoot*, their shoes in their hands. This last is plainly an act of special piety, and, after experience of the roughness of the pathway even in boots makes one wince, and here surely, too, is our fair friend and her mother again, who have followed on direct, while we turned out of the way and whom we are again overtaking. The girl greets us smilingly and offers two little posies and some of her mother's cheese. This, peraps, is in requital for our small gift of provisions when we first met,—what remained of our lunch. The cheese is liable to melt and so difficult to carry, being the white cream-cheese of the country made from goats milk and very palatable when fresh, as this is. But we must carry it as best we can. Leaving more of our hearts behind us, we reluctantly hurry on and by dint of judicious spurting reach the station as the train comes round the bend. Back in Athens at a quarter to five. The cheese is delicious.

ART. VI.—THE VARAKAL FESTIVAL.

THERE is an interesting festival annually celebrated at Varakal on the day of the New Moon (*vavu*) in the Malayalam month of *Thulam* (October-November). Varakal is two miles to the north of Calicut, the city of the Zamorins—the “Cidade*—nobre e rica” of Camoens’ tuneful epic. There is a curious legend touching the etymology of the name Calicut. Cheraman Perumal, the last Emperor of Malabar (according to tradition), abdicated his throne and turned Moslem. Before leaving on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he divided the province of Kerala among his eighteen feudatories, to whose prowess he was indebted for his success in arms. The division and distribution of territory is thus described in the *Lusiad* :—

“ But ere abandon’d home, his satrapies,
That lacked lawful heir, he parts to each
And all he loved : hence his intimates he
From want made wealthy, and from serfdom free.
To this Cochim, to that falls Cananor,
One hath Chale, another th’isle Piment,
A third Conlam, a fourth takes Cranganor,
The rest is theirs with whom he rests content.
Only one youth, for whom warm love he bore,
When all was parted, did himself present :
Nothing save Calicut for him remained,
Which by her traffick, wealth and rank had gained.
On him the title paramount he bestows
Of Emperor, with sway o’er every state.”

Another account says that there were two brothers of the Eradi caste from Puntura, near Erode, named Manicham and Vikram, who had rendered Cheraman signal service in overpowering an Eastern invader, the Chola King of Cholaadesh ; and these two youths were absent on a pilgrimage to Benares, when the last of the Perumals divided his territories and retired from political life. So they were left out in the cold in the distribution of territory, but they came up later, whereupon Cheraman, having nothing else to bestow on them, presented them with his imperial sword and a small piece of land called Kokorikot—so small that the crowing of a cock, placed in the citadel, could be heard all over it—the Emperor bidding them

* “ Noble and wealthy city.” cf.

“ Here o’er her neighbour cities, sans a doubt,
Calicut claimeth highest dignity,
Crown of the kingdom fair and flourishing :
Here he entitled ‘ Samorin ’ is king.”
Burton’s Camoens, VII, 22.

win what more they wanted by force of arms. This historic sword given to the Pūntura youths with the advice to "die and kill and annex" was wont to be carried in the forefront of battle by the Zamorins of later days ; played a prominent part in the great *Maha Makam* festival held at Thirunavaye every twelve years, and is still preserved and daily decorated with chaplets of flowers. The native designation for Calicut is Koshi-Kotu (literally Cock Fortress), and it comes from two very opposite words *Koshi*, cock, and *Kotu*, fort.

The temple at Varakal is remarkably situated. It stands out from a pedestal of laterite rock rising abruptly from the seashore, and almost lapped by the waves of the Arabian Sea. A building in no way striking or admirable for its architectural beauty, it has no small historical importance. The temple is dedicated to the goddess Durga, the Nemesis of the Hindu pantheon. The wife of Siva "the destroyer," she is described as violent in form and irascible in temper. Her image is awe-inspiring. "Dishevelled* hair, a necklace of human heads, a girdle of blood-stained hands, a wild expression of countenance, her tongue dangling out of her mouth, a sword in her hand and her feet trampling upon her prostrate husband," harmonize admirably with her frightful character. The temple has a very ancient origin, being one of the *maha kshatrum*s or "great temples" on this coast. Tradition says it was founded by Parasu Rama, soldier, sage and colonizer, of whom it is recorded :—"Thrice seven times did he clear the earth of the *Kshathriya* caste."

Kerala (Malabar) is said to have been recovered from the Ocean by Parasu Rama, and thereby hangs a tale. The latter was born at the beginning of the Treta Yuga (second Age), and was the sixth *avatār*, or incarnation, of Vishnu. Though his father was reputed to be the sage Jamadagni, he was not the son of his loins. Parasu Rama's mother Renuka, having no son, prayed for one. Her prayer was granted ; but, instead of a Brahman *charu*, she was inadvertently given a *Kshathriya charu*—this being a preparation of rice or barley which, if swallowed, cures a woman of the curse of barrenness. Renuka swallowed the *charu*, and in the fulness of time gave birth to a son—Sri Parasu Rama. One day, years after, Renuka went forth to the river to bathe. There she beheld the Prince of Mritikavati, with a garland of lotuses on his neck, sporting with his Queen in the water, and felt envious of their felicity. She returned disquieted to the hermitage—her mind full of the amorous prince. Jamadagni divined what was passing in her mind and his rage knew no bounds. Beholding her fallen from the pedestal of virtue, he successively com-

* Stocqueler's familiar History of British India : p. 5.

manded his sons to put her to death. All refused except Rama, who, seizing his axe, instantly felled her to the ground. The sage was much gratified at his son's stern devotion, and not only caused Rénuka to be restored to life, but also conferred upon Rama the boon of invincibility. Afterwards Kartavirya, King of the Haihayas, endowed with a thousand arms and a golden chariot that went wheresoever he willed it to go, while on a visit to the hermitage, carried off by force the Divine Cow, Kamadhenu. Rama went forth to battle with him, met the marauder prince, and recovered the cow. The sons of Kartavirya, to be avenged on Jamadagni, attacked the hermitage and killed the pious and unresisting sage in the absence of his son, Rama. This so exasperated the latter that he vowed he would extirpate the whole Kshathriya race. Accordingly, he rid the world of the warrior class thrice seven times, and became Lord of all the lands between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin. In expiation of the crime of matricide, he gifted away the whole country to the Brahmin sage, Kasyapa. But this sage, as soon as he became master of all the lands, with scant courtesy, ordered Parasu Rama to quit them. Rama did so, and in his anger smote the sea for a little space. The sea receded, and a strip of dry land became visible. The land thus formed came to be known as *Kerala*, or Malabar. Parasu Rama peopled the newly-created land with Brahmans, built temples therein, and after a life spent in mighty and holy deeds gave away his entire property in alms, and retired to a district between Surat and Cape Comorin, where, as Hindu mythology would have it, he still lives—he being one of the *chirun jivins*, or immortal men.

The promiscuous pile of huge globular rocks on which the Varakal pagoda stands; its very dreariness and solitude; and the many rock-cut caverns breathing an air of weird grandeur, all these give us an idea of the old, celebrated *viharas* of Asoka. There are two large tanks in front of the temple, which are said to be connected with the sea by subterranean channels. In the rainy season, the temple presents a picturesque sight, and has, owing to the incursions of the sea, all the appearance of a little sea-girt isle. Sir Richard Burton, then a Lieutenant in the Bombay Army, visited this pagoda in 1847, and appears to have been greatly impressed with its sanctity. "Early in* the month of October," wrote the author of the *Scented Garden*, "water appears bubbling from a fissure of the rock, and this, learned Brahmans, by what test we know not, have determined to be the veritable fluid of the Ganges, which, passing under ground, *viâ* Central India, displays itself regularly once a year to the devotees of Rama."

* Goa and the Blue Mountains, p. 176, London, 1851.

Multitudes annually flock to this temple on the festival day. It is a day for bandies and *juthas*. All Calicut and his wife, from the sleek slovenly country magnate to the pale work-worn *dufterbund*, are carted to the shrine. Lean famished animals frothing under the weight of vehicles crammed with pilgrims of both sexes and of all ages call for a local S. P. C. A. Every pilgrim takes with him his offering of plantains and cocoanuts. Before entering the temple, he bathes first in the tank attached thereto and then in the sea, which, so the superstitious believe, becomes calm on this day out of respect to the deity. Brahmans believe that a sea-bath here on the festival day will reward them with children. The husband desirous of issue holds his wife by the hand and they take a plunge together. The swimming, bathing, jumping, running, shouting multitudes of pilgrims and devotees present a scene of confusion and disorder suggestive of Juggernath. From one end to the other, the sandy shore exhibits a long array of tossing humanity disporting themselves in the sea.

Burton notices the remarkable proximity to the sea of the venerable pagoda of Varkool. This, it is supposed, enhances the sanctity of the temple, as in the case of the famous Champravatam temple, situated in the bed of the Ponani river. Curiously enough, the great traveller and linguist connects the story of old Calicut's apocryphal destruction with none other than the renowned polemic and apostle of Vedantism, Sankaracharya—"the high Brahman of the Varkool pagoda." Cheraman, the last of the Perumals, apostatizing from the holy faith of his forefathers, received the religion of the stranger, and went as a pilgrim to Mecca and lived there for a good many years. His return to Malabar was marked by a determination to propagate the new faith; and, irritated by the determined resistance of the priestly Brahmins and urged on by his Moslem advisers, he swore a mighty oath that he would forcibly convert his arch enemies—the person selected to eat impure meat as a warning to his brethren being the holy Sankaracharya. But this doom was providentially averted, for "before the bright * car of Surya, the Lord of Day, borne by its flaming steeds with agate hoops had entered upon their starry way, the wavelet was rippling, and the seagull flapping his snowy wing over the city of Cheroman the apostate."

There is a quaint custom relating to this festival in this part of Malabar. Any Nair husband failing to visit his consort on the festival night has to "show cause" why the alliance should not terminate. Such is the *Sambandham* of Malabar to this day, the Malabar Marriage Act notwithstanding.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

* Goa and the Blue Mountains.

ART. VII.—THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF FRENCH INDIA.

THE most remarkable political characteristic of the latter part of the nineteenth century," says Mr. Lecky in his 'Democracy and Liberty,' "has unquestionably been the complete displacement of the centre of power in free-governments and the accompanying changes in the prevailing theories about the principles on which representative government ought to be based." The strong tendency of our generation towards democracy and popular institutions makes it clear that popular government will before long be the established rule in all civilised countries, and the only question for politicians is, as Mr. Lecky thinks, as to the form it is likely to take and the means by which its characteristic evils may be mitigated. No more striking example of this tendency could be adduced than the government of French India. The few isolated and perhaps obscure possessions of the French in India are provided with a democratic government based on universal suffrage on the model of France. Without, by any means, accepting Mr. Lecky's gloomy predictions as to the consequences of the progress of democracy in European countries, one may yet feel sceptical as to the success of democracy among an Indian population; for, as John Morley puts it,* 'systems of government called by the same name, bearing the same superficial marks, maintained on the same nominal principles, and framed in the same verbal forms, may yet work with infinite diversity of operation according to the variety of social circumstances around them.' The maintenance of a democratic government in India, in even so small an area, may therefore afford us an interesting study as a means of tracing the probable operation of that form of government among the peoples of India. For, if government by representative democracies be really inevitable in the progress of modern civilisation; if, as the optimist view has it, the intelligent co-operation of the whole people is the corner-stone of all healthy government, it is clear that progressive India must in time obtain that representation in the counsels of the empire, that independence and self-government, and that brotherhood and fellowship

or parts of British Empire, which the British nation, ideal, has set to itself as one of its objects in the this country. It may be a long time before

Maine on Popular Government—' in his 'Studies in

such a state of things is brought about ; but if we could only find out the right methods of reform, the right methods of initiating the people into the exercise of political functions, and of educating them in habits of self-government, the process which is going on at present would be attended with fewer difficulties and the result sooner achieved.

To afford a liberal opening to the aspirations of the present without clashing with the traditions of the past, to introduce changes without disturbing what is good and useful in the elder institutions, to adopt old institutions and machinery to the new needs and purposes of our day, this is one of the most difficult problems before the liberal statesman in India. A study of the working of democracy in French India may, therefore, by showing how far it has failed to accord with the progress of the people and how far it has succeeded in infusing a healthy and progressive spirit into the small population, go some way towards elucidating the problem, on what lines and by what steps democratic reform should proceed in India ?

There is also another feature of the Government of French India which may afford us instruction in regard to questions affecting British India. Both England and France have, as is well known, democratic Governments and are administered by highly developed machinery. Nevertheless, some fundamental differences underlie the principles of administration obtaining in the two countries ; and there is also an essential difference in the points of view from which each has proceeded in the development and administration of its colonies. It may therefore be of some use to examine the effects of the peculiar features of French colonial methods of Government among an Indian population.

It is not proposed in this short paper to give a critical account of the political system of French India and of its administration, far less to discuss all the points that arise in reference to the introduction of representative and democratic government in India. Its aim is merely to suggest the desirability of a more critical study and a more elaborate discussion of the institutions described here, as likely to throw some light on many important questions—questions of administrative as well as political reform—affecting British India. A short account of the government of the colonies of France in India, with a few observations on the practical working of the administrative machinery and the political institutions of the colony, is all that is attempted here.

The possessions of the French in India, as s
treaties of 1814 and 1815, are five in number :
the capital, Chandernagore, Karical, Mahe
By two conventions concluded with the British

* Essay on
Government
at least

in 1817 and 1818, the French government have precluded themselves, in consideration of an annual compensation of a million and odd francs, from manufacturing or permitting the manufacture of, salt and opium, in order to protect the revenues of British India. The five *dependences*, as they are called, comprise an area of about 178 square miles and contain a population of 283,000 individuals. The population mainly consists of Hindus, but it also comprises about 500 European residents, a variable number of Christian converts who have renounced their native status, and a small number of Muhammadans.

No attempt seems to have been made by the restored Bourbon monarchy to organise the government of these possessions on a regular and settled basis. The Governor of the colony had practically all power in his hands, subject, perhaps, to occasional control by the Minister of Marine in France. When Louis Philippe came to power, by a series of ordinances he set the administration of the colonies on a regular basis. By an ordinance of 1840, the military command and the administration of the colonies were vested in a Governor at Pondicherry, assisted by a council of administration composed of the chief officials. An ordinance of 1842 regulated the administration of justice. The second Republic sought to introduce the people of India to the exercise of political power and privileges by instituting in 1848 a *Conseil Generale* in Pondicherry and *Conseils d'Arrondissements* in the five *dependences*.

With the establishment of the second Empire in France, no further attention was paid to the extension of popular rights and privileges in the colonies. With the advent of the present republic, however, the idea was again revived of investing the colonial inhabitants with political rights on the same basis of universal suffrage as in France. The first initiation of the people in the colony into political life was in 1871, when they elected a deputy to the National Assembly in France. In 1875 they elected a Senator. The administrative institutions have also undergone many important, and perhaps too frequent, changes under the present régime. The old office of *Ordonnateur* was replaced by that of the *Directeur de l'interieur*, which in its turn has recently been superseded by that of the *Secrétaire-Général*. The *Conseil d'Administration* gave way to a *Conseil Privé*, which was constituted into a *Conseil du Contentieux Administratif* when summoned for deciding questions of administrative law. The office of *controleur* of the colony was abolished and a permanent inspection staff of the colonies instituted, which continued to exist till 1887. In 1880 municipal areas were created and

French India was apportioned into ten communes with *Conseils Municipaux* over them. In 1880 and 1881 certain important changes were made by Presidential decrees in the civil and personal status of the Indians which led to important modifications in the elective institutions of the colony in 1884 and 1899.

The civil administration and the military command of the possessions of the French in India are, as stated above, vested in a Governor resident at Pondicherry. He promulgates the laws passed by the Legislature in France. He executes the decrets of the President and carries out the orders and regulations issued by the Ministers in France. He can himself, when necessary, issue local decrees or 'arrêtes' for the proper execution and observance of laws within the colony. He has power to communicate and treat with foreign Governments in India and can, when so authorised, conclude with them conventions; commercial or otherwise, subject to ratification by the Government in France. The Governor is, as has been said, 'in small matters what the President of the Republic is in great matters.' His controlling power over the different branches of administration is also very great. He superintends the collection of taxes. He is at the head of the police to maintain order and security. He controls the administration of the communes by the *maire* and the *conseils*. He supervises the departments of Public Health and Public Works. Even in the administration of justice he has, legally at least, the right of an equal seat along with the judges in court and can, if he thinks fit, stop the proceedings of a court, acting beyond its competence. He also exercises a general supervision over the judiciary in matters of discipline and administration. In fact, all the officers of the Government, whether appointed by the President or not, are under the authority of the Governor. He can also, in cases of urgency, provisionally fill up appointments which are in the gift of the President or the Ministry. In fact, as has been said of the Prefect, he is the general agent of the French Government and the chief instrument of centralisation in the State.

In all these diverse and important functions of executive administration, the Governor is assisted by a *Secrétaire Generale* and a consultative assembly known as the *conseil privé* composed of two officials and two non-officials. The *Secrétaire Generale* is, next to the Governor, the most important official in the colony. Under the general supervision of the Governor he carries out all the administrative functions which devolve on him, though in all minor matters he can act on his own initiative. He has precedence next to the Governor and acts for him provisionally during his absence. He is appointed by a *decret* of the President and the Governor can only control his

administration and not exercise any disciplinary power over him. Until 1898 the place of *Secrétaire Générale* was occupied by the *Directeur de l'intérieur*, who was, in all matters of internal administration, vested with powers independent of the Governor and could have, in many cases, correspond directly with the central Government in France.

The *Conseil Privé* is the successor of the old *Conseil d'Administration* and was established in 1879 by a Presidential decret. It consists of a President, *viz.*, the Governor, the *Secrétaire Générale*, and the *Procureur de la République* and two non-officials nominated by decret of the President, on the recommendation of the Governor. The Conseil is a purely consultative assembly. Besides advising the Governor in all administrative matters brought before it by the Governor or under his orders, it acts also as an administrative tribunal for the trial of all administrative disputes, and, when so acting, adds to its members two judges previously nominated for the purpose by the Governor. The nature and functions of this tribunal may be better considered in connection with the administration of justice.

Under the direction of the Governor, assisted on the one hand, by the Conseil Privé in all measures and projects of administration, and, on the other, by the *Secrétaire Générale* in the actual carrying out of them, the different departments, or services as they are called, are entrusted to *chefs*, or heads, under whom all the officials work. We shall now try to gain an idea of the chief branches of administration.

Administration of Justice.—The department of justice is under the *Procureur Générale*, who is the *Chef de l'Administration de la Justice*. This official is merely the executive head of the department and takes no part as judge in judicial proceedings. He arranges the *personnel* and the establishment of the courts and superintends the execution of all judicial processes and sentences. As *Procureur Générale de la République* he represents the State in all judicial proceedings, civil as well as criminal. He has thus the duty of bringing criminals and defaulters to justice and to that extent has authority over the police.

Justice is administered in French India ordinarily by three grades of courts. The court of *juge de paix* is concerned with petty litigation, and up to a certain small amount the decision of the *juge de paix* is final. But his function seems to be more one of reconciliation and arbitration than of decision. No suit can be brought in the higher courts till he has been unsuccessful in bringing the parties themselves to an agreement. The peace court is also the lowest criminal court for the trial of all petty police offences. The jurisdiction of a *juge de paix* extends over a *canton* which in India covers the area of a de-

pendance. Above the court of the *juge de paix* is the *court of the first instance* established (in every arrondissement in France) at Karikal, Pondicherry and Chandernagore; it exercises the ordinary original jurisdiction in all suits. A special section of the court of the first instance known as the *tribunal correctionnel* tries all criminal cases known as *delits* and punishable with three years' imprisonment. It is also an appellate court over the simple police court of the *juge de paix*. The *cour d'appel* is the highest appellate court in the colony. It is also the *cour criminale*, one or more of its judges being periodically deputed to sit in assizes in the chief towns of the colony and try all crimes and felonies with the aid of a jury. Above all these courts stands the *cour d'assation* in Paris, the supreme appellate court of the French Empire.

Besides these ordinary tribunals, there exist under the French system a number of extraordinary tribunals which have also found a place in French India. The *Conseil Privé* is constituted into a special court for these purposes by the addition of two judges appointed by the Governor; it then becomes a *Conseil de Contentieux Administratif*.

Its functions are to pronounce decisions (i) on all matters entrusted to it as a commission of appeal; and generally (ii) on all disputes and claims connected with what is known as the *droit administratif*. The peculiar features of the *droit administratif* in the French system may be considered later on. It need only be noted here that the *Conseil Privé* as constituted into an administrative tribunal, is the court charged with the execution of the *droit administratif*.

Finance and Revenue.—The purely financial administration of the colony, i.e., that which is concerned with the realization of dues to the State and the disbursement of the same is, in many respects, not subject to the direct authority of the Governor. In the French system all the agents and servants of Government who have charge of collecting the contributions to the State are directly under the Minister of Finance. This charge is in the hands of a *Tresorier-payeur-Generale* in Pondicherry. He receives on behalf of the State all the taxes and other dues raised in the colony and is accountable for them to the Government. Besides his small salary he gets a percentage on all sums collected by him in the colony and he is also allowed to transact private banking business with the funds of the State after furnishing a sufficient security. He has to defray out of his own pocket all the expenses of establishment and other charges necessary for collecting the taxes. The *tresorier-payeur* is, besides, the *receveur-generale* of all municipal revenues. The task of collecting all these contributions, rates and taxes

is entrusted in each locality to *percepteurs* and *receveurs municipaux* who are also subject to the orders of the Governor in all matters pertaining to the levy and collection thereof. The treasury is kept open on all working days for the payment of all legal and other dues to the Government.

These various taxes which pass through the hands of the *percepteurs* and the *trésorier-payeur* into the coffers of the State consist of three kinds of receipts: (1) direct contributions; (2) indirect contributions; and (3) diverse contributions. The principal taxes comprised under the first head are (1) the *impôt foncier*, or the land tax, which was settled permanently about forty years ago at different rates in different localities, and which may, on an average, be taken to be equivalent to about the fourth of the produce at that time; (2) the *impôt des patentes*, or the license tax, a personal tax levied on all persons carrying on any trade, industry or business, or owning a house; and (iii) taxes of verification of weights and measures. The 'contributions indirectes' chiefly consist of the monopoly over the import, manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and other intoxicating drinks, over tobacco and betel and rights of passage for foreign vehicles, etc. The '*contributions diverses*' are made up of (1) enregistrement, timbre et domaine, comprising all payments by stamps for the verification of all legal transactions, payments for legal process, costs of justice and fees for all court or government transactions, and (ii) port dues taxes of navigation and other minor dues.

The assessment, control and audit of these various contributions are vested in a *chef du service* and form the important branch of revenue administration. This department has, besides, the duties of registering all transactions of sale, mortgage and exchange of property whether of the State or of private individuals, and of organising all the preventive staff of officials in regard to the maintenance of the State monopolies in wine, spirits, tobacco, betel and other products. In each local area the duties in regard to this administration are exercised by a *delegue* or *delegates* of the department. A staff of *gardes* and preventive officers are also employed.

These diverse taxes have not been quite as productive as in France. The revenues of the colony are supplemented by a grant from the imperial exchequer towards the up-keep of the colonial establishment.

Public Education.—Public education in France is entirely under the supervision of the State. This department is under the control of a *chef de l'instruction publique* who is directly under the authority of the Governor. He exercises all the powers previously vested in the *Directeur de l'intérieur* in

matters of education, and all the authority which devolves upon the Inspectors of academies, in France. He has a voice in the consultations of the *Conseil Privé* in all educational matters. He has under his control all primary as well as secondary educational institutions in the colony. The scheme of national education as developed in France from the days of the national convention has been introduced also into French India. By a law of June 16, 1881, primary education was rendered obligatory on all parents of children, and by a law of March 28, 1882, it was made gratuitous. Primary education is in the hands of the communes, which are, by law, required to maintain a certain number of schools, while the State itself looks to the maintenance and support of the Secondary Institutions, as well as of the highest facultés de l'état for imparting the highest liberal and technical education. The compulsory powers of Government in regard to elementary education are not quite so freely exercised in French India as in France. But the Government maintains quite a number of *écoles primaires*, besides supporting a number of private institutions maintained by religious corporations for boys as well as for girls. The Government also supports three or four institutions for the imparting of secondary education, maintains a law school and a medical school, and encourages study in all institutions by a number of studentships to deserving scholars. Altogether, the education in French India compares very favourably with that in British India, nearly 5,000 boys and 4,000 girls being under instruction, out of a population of only about 250,000.

Public Health and Pauperism.—The care of public health is under a *chef du service de santé*. There is a Central Hospitale Coloniale in Pondicherry, and there are, besides a number of smaller hospitals where medicine is distributed gratis to the poor. There is no organised system of poor relief in India, or in France. Nevertheless, aid is given to the poor in the shape of out-door relief by the *comité de bienfaisance* nominated by the Governor, the funds of which are made up partly by State grant and partly by private voluntary and charitable contributions.

The Department of Public Works is manned by a *chef du service* and a number of *conducteurs*. They have the care of the public roads and buildings. The Police and the Marine Departments are under the direct authority of the *Secrétaire Generale*.

For administrative purposes French India is divided into five dependances and ten communes. In each dependance an *administrateur* represents the executive Government. Each dependance has representatives of all the departments of

administration. Each local subordinate is under the direct orders of the chef of his department in Pondicherry. The administrateur is the medium of communication between the local and central functionaries of Government. He exercises, besides, under the orders of the Governor, all that authority over communal administration, over electoral matters and over the Police, sanitary and other branches of administration, not under the authority of any chef du service. He is charged with the responsibility for good administration of the dependance generally, and has, therefore, the duty of reporting and remedying, where he can, all defects in the machinery of administration and in the working of the same. His suggestions always carry great weight. He has thus merely a general power of supervision over the different officials and their conduct.

Each dependance is divided into a varying number of communes. The commune is the lowest administrative unit. The administration of the commune is vested in a Conseil Municipale, with a Mayor and one or more deputy Mayors at its head. It will be more properly described under the elective institutions.

We now come to the political institutions of the colony. Before describing these, however, a few words would seem to be necessary in regard to the civil and personal status of the inhabitants of French India. By a decret of the President in 1880 all the laws of France regarding the '*état civil*' were made applicable to the people of French India with certain reservations intended to protect Indian customs. In other respects the inhabitants were allowed to follow their own personal law, Hindu or Mahommedan, as the case might be, in all matters of marriage, adoption, succession and certain other matters. When the political institutions of the colony were reorganised in 1879, the Executive Government in France, then under the reactionary headship of Marshal MacMahon, deemed it necessary in the interests of the Europeans residing in French India to comprise them in a separate list of electors and to reserve one-half of the seats in the electoral conseils to be filled exclusively by them. The European residents formed only a very small part of the population, and the formation of the two '*listes*' led to rather acrimonious disputes as to the rationale of the distinction. A clamour was raised against it, especially among the Christian converts of the colony, who, having adopted the religion and many of the social customs of the Europeans, naturally desired the same privileges. This led, therefore, to another '*decret*' in the time of President Grevy. It provided a certain method by which all the inhabitants were permitted, by the observance

of certain formalities, to renounce their indigenous status and their personal law, and be governed, to all intents and purposes, by the laws applicable to Frenchmen. This 'decret' led in turn to a remodelling of the constitution of and the election to the councils. All the inhabitants of the colony were divided into three 'listes' of electors, the first, consisting of Europeans and their descendants, the second, of those 'natifs' who had renounced their personal status, and the third, of the 'non-renoncants natifs.' Each liste had a reserved number of seats in the Elective Councils consisting of nearly equal numbers of 'conseillers' for each liste.* This 'three listes system' has had important consequences in the politics of French India.

As in France, the exercise of the franchise 'par suffrage universelle' is vested in all male adult citizens who have not been specially disqualified. The methods of election have undergone similar changes—the 'scrutin de liste,' then the 'scrutin d'arrondissement,' then again the 'scrutin de liste,' lastly in 1886, the 'scrutin uni nominale,' have succeeded each other also in French India. Under the present system, each candidate has to specify the constituency he stands for, and each elector is allowed only one vote, thus avoiding multiple elections and plural votes. The management and superintendence of the elections is, as in France, vested in a 'college electeraux' who are the scrutinising authorities of the voting and whose declaration of the candidate elected is final, subject to an appeal to the 'conseil d'état' in France. There is also an interpreter in French India to assist the college in the management of the vernacular votes.

For the purposes of election to the Chambers, French India is classed under the head 'La Colonie' with the right of electing one deputy and one senator. Either because only one deputy and one senator were allowed to French India, or because it was not permissible to regulate by Presidential 'decrets' matters pertaining to the '*Lais Organique*' of the French constitution, the three 'listes' have no place in the elections to the Chambers, which are decided by a pure numerical majority of votes. The 'conseils locaux' take the place of the 'conseils d'arrondissements' of France for the formation of the committee composing the senatorial electors.

* An important change in the 'listes' system of election has been made, in October 1899, by which, while the distinction of 'natifs,' 'renoncant' and Europeans has been kept up, the second liste has ceased to exist for electoral purposes. Renoncants satisfying certain qualifications are incorporated into the 'first liste' and vote along with the Europeans. The other 'renoncants' vote with the pure 'natifs' who are now the second 'liste.'

The Colonial Elective Councils consist of a central 'conseil generale' five 'conseils locaux'—one in each of the five dependances—and ten 'conseils municipaux' in the ten communes. The elections to all these councils are on the same system of universal suffrage as modified by the three listes system. The general council consists of 30 members, the local councils consist of 6 to 12 members each according to the extent of the dependance, and the municipal councils consist of 12 to 18 members each. One-third of the seats in each council are reserved for each 'liste,' but where there are less than 20 electors in any 'liste,' these vote along with the subsequent 'liste.' All electors except servants and contractors of Government are eligible for election by any 'liste,' irrespective of the 'liste' to which the candidate himself may belong. All the councillors are elected for a period of six years, one-half of them being renewed by rotation every three years. Each member of the general council must possess a knowledge of French, and each member of the other councils a knowledge of the vernacular. The services of each member are gratuitous, but councillors generale get decent travelling allowances and batta. The general council meets, ordinarily, once a year and the other councils four times a year. Extraordinary sessions may also be held by each council when it is summoned by the governor or administrator for this purpose. Each council at the beginning of each session elects its own Secretary. The general council, besides, elects its President and Vice-Presidents every session. The local councils are presided over by members nominated by the administrator. The municipal councils are presided over by their own elected mayors. The sittings of the general and local councils are public, and a representative of the Government attends their sittings and assists them in their deliberations.

The functions of the elective councils would seem to be hardly commensurate with their elaborate constitution. The powers of the general council are mainly confined to the economic administration of the colony, the voting of the taxes and the passing of the colonial budget. Under the former head, the council authorises the purchase, sale and other transactions affecting the property of the colony, the mode of raising income out of such property, and the appropriation and apportionment of the same for all purposes of colonial interest; the acceptance and refusal of all gifts and incomes to the colony, for all specified general purposes by individuals or corporations. It decides about the construction and direction of new roads and canals and the laying out of new railways. It deliberates on the modes of charitable relief and, generally, on all matters relating to the rights of the

colony and its welfare. Under the latter heads, the council votes the taxes necessary for the expenses of the colony and the colonial budget is deliberated upon and passed by the council and finally approved by the Governor in 'conseil privé.' The budget of the colony is only a supplement to the budget of the State and, as such, it comprises only a portion of the receipts and expenditure of the colony. The receipts in the colonial budget consist of all incomes other than those derived from the sale of State property and those inscribed in the State budget. The expenditure consists of those specified portions of the expenses of administration which are not provided for out of the central budget. The exercise of these powers, however, is subject to certain important limitations. No resolution of the council can take effect if it is opposed to any law or presidential decret or any administrative regulation. No decision of the council regarding the property and finances of the colony which affects any department of public service is valid without the approval of the Governor or the President, as the case may be. No acceptance or refusal of a grant of income or property involving onerous conditions, no resolution regulating the mode of poor-relief, or irrigation, or of railway construction is final without the approval of the Governor. The final sanction of the colonial budget rests with the Governor in 'conseil privé.' In the voting of the taxes and the appropriation of the same for the expenses of the colony a distinction is made between expense 'obligatoire' and expense 'facultatif.' The taxes necessary for the former must be voted for by the assembly; else, the Governor has the power, in his privy council, to appropriate the 'facultatif' funds to the obligatory purposes, and, if no tax is voted at all, to raise such revenues, with the sanction of the minister of the colonies, as are necessary for the obligatory expenditure. The category of the obligatory expenses includes all the essential disbursements relative to the administration of the colony, not provided for by the budget of the State. All other expenses are 'facultatif.'

The functions of the local councils were, originally, a reproduction on a small scale of those of the general council, in respect of the particular dependance where it sat. The council was, in every way, a counterpart of the general council; but the preservation of its functions alongside of those of the larger council proved inconvenient and, in some respects, incompatible, and in 1886, the local councils were made purely consultative.

The 'conseil municipale' is the administrative council of the commune. The communal administration is vested in a 'maire,' one or more 'adjoint maires' and the 'conseil muni-

cipale.' The maire is elected by the council from among its members and he holds a very important situation in the administration of the commune. He is both the agent of the central Government and the representative of the commune. He promulgates all laws, decrets, regulations and executive and other official orders within the commune and is responsible to the central Government for their execution. He is charged with all the duties regarding the sanitation, the maintenance and up-keep of the roads, buildings and other property of the commune. He is responsible for the peace and security of the commune, and for that purpose has authority over the communal police. He supervises the communal establishment, controls the revenues and accounts of the commune and represents it in all legal transactions. He is, besides, the '*officier de l'état civil*' or the official registrar of births, deaths and marriages and the keeper of the register of citizens. In all his various duties he is directly under the authority of the superior administrations. The functions of the municipal council are, as in the case of the general council, but with greater limitations, restricted to the economic affairs of the commune. The budget of the commune is prepared by the 'maire' and voted by the council, but is subject to the approval of the Governor. As in the case of the general council, the expenses of the commune are divided into obligatory and facultatif, and power is vested in the executive to provide, in cases of omission or refusal, for the obligatory part by continuing the levy of the old contributions.

The above is a bare outline of the political system of French India. It remains now to offer a few remarks on its practical working and its results.

A glance at the system shows that it is merely a copy more or less complete, of the institutions established in France for the administration of departments. The Governor is merely the *prefet* of the department, entrusted with more plenary powers than the latter, on account of his position as the representative of a foreign government in a distant country. The administrators of the five dependances are reproductions of the '*sou prefets*.' The '*conseil privé*' is merely the '*conseil de prefecture*' with its name altered and constitutes the same '*tribunal administratif*.' The judicial and financial administrations of the colony are identical with those of France. The functions of justice and police, of local government, of poor relief, and of national education, are all based on the same principles as in France. The political institutions both local and imperial are formed on the same model as in France, though in the principle underlying these institutions a difference has been made which has led to important consequences

in the politics of the colony. In fact, during the past 30 years (that is since the present Republic) when the institutions of the colony have got remodelled, the attempt to assimilate the institutions of the colony to those of France, to introduce, ready made, the machinery and institutions of France into alien colonies so as to assimilate them to the mother-country and bring them more under her direct authority, is characteristic of the French and contrasts with the cautious, tentative way in which the British have introduced and developed new institutions in their newly acquired territories. The difference is further illustrated by the different points of view from which each country regards her colonies. England regards her colonies as distinct off-shoots from her, as separate, though subordinate, political entities provided with distinct governments and more or less under the control of the mother-country. Even her great dependancy of India, she merely regards as territory for which she has to provide a separate, though, paternal government, and as being responsible for the good government of which she has to exercise through her ministers a more direct and stricter control than in the case of her great colonies. France on the contrary regards her colonies in an entirely different aspect. All her colonies are considered by her to form politically part and parcel of France. They are regarded more as outlying districts or departments of France under the administration of the French executive than as distinct self-governing communities. As part of the policy of France the colonies are represented in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Their administration is periodically inspected and their finances audited by officials from the colonial office. The governors and the chief officials of the colony are appointed by the President and are transferred and promoted from one colony to another as if from district to district in France. This tendency to knit the colonies to the mother-country, to attract and refer everything to the common centre in France is in keeping with the tradition of the French ever since they began their colonial enterprise.

We must not be surprised, therefore, to find that the administrative system which has been established in pursuance of this policy of assimilation should exhibit all those peculiar features which belong to the French administrative institutions. We notice, in the first place, that high centralisation of the machinery of government which is so marked a feature in French administration. In the hands of the Governor, as we have seen, all the functions of the government are concentrated. Except perhaps in the department of justice and finance, he exercises direct authority and control ; over the local authorities he exercises, not merely a general supervision, but a

regular and systematic control in every important exercise of their functions. None of the officials is vested with any discretionary authority. Previous to 1898, in all matters of internal administration the 'directeur de l'intérieur,' as the chief functionary next to the Governor, possessed in many matters a power of initiative and of direct correspondence with the Minister of the Colonies. This was remedied in 1898 by placing a 'secrétaire général' in place of the old director directly under the Governor to assist him in all matters. The administrator of each dependance or local area has no great authority; he acts as a conduit pipe between the central and the local officials and has very vague supervising powers. The local officials are all directly under the authority of their chief at Pondicherry, while the administration of municipal areas is strictly under the control of the executive. Accustomed as we in British India are to a highly centralised administration, we have never had a system under which the discretion of the local authorities and the freedom of local self-government have not been preserved alongside of the control of the central authorities. "An Indian collector," says Sir W. Hunter, has often been compared to a French 'prefet,' but such a comparison is in many ways unjust to the Indian district officer. He is not a mere creature of the Home office who takes his colour from his chief and represents only officialism, but he is an active worker in every department of popular well-being with a large measure of individual initiative." It is this absence of a power of discretion and initiative in the local authorities that distinguishes the French system from that of British India.

This over-centralisation produces as its necessary counterpart a great deficiency of local self-government which, is another notable feature of the French system, both in France and in India. No doubt the colony is provided with the appliances and forms of municipal government; but, if we consider the character of the municipal administration, we can easily see how little of local affairs is left to be managed by the municipal councils. The commune is regarded merely as the lowest administrative unit; its maire is primarily an agent of the central government and next the representative of the municipal corporation. His powers arise independently of the corporation and are co-ordinate with that of the council which elects him. In all matters on which he differs from his council the ultimate decision lies with the head of the executive. He has, besides, powers in regards to the communal administration which are vested in him independently of the council, and he is responsible to the superior Government in the performance of every one of his functions.

The functions of the council itself are, as we have seen, very limited. Nor have the local executive officials any discretion in the management of local affairs. Everything that has to be done must be done at head-quarters. Herein we could perceive an interesting contrast with local self-government as it exists in British India. In British India also the powers of local boards and municipalities are very limited and subject to a great deal of control by the executive; but the causes of this limitation are different. In British India it has been thought politically inexpedient to form local bodies entirely by popular election or to invest them with very large powers without a careful supervision by the executive. In the French system the scantiness of local government arises not from a reluctance to invest the populace with political powers—for it is invested with the sovereign power,—but from the causes which have been pointed out above—an innate tendency to increase the force of the executive government and to centralise institutions. The result is, that, while in our institutions a principle of progress and improvement is recognised whereby the principle of the localisation of power and of entrusting it to local bodies might in time be fully adopted as in England, in the French system local government is not capable of such development, for it is based on the principle of the centralisation of powers and of extending the province of the executive.

Another feature of French administration which might be traced to the same causes is the maintenance of what is known as the '*droit administratif*.' "This administrative law," as Professor Dicey has pointed out, "rests on two leading ideas alien to our notions." "The first is that Government and every servant of the Government possesses, as representative of the nation, a whole body of special rights, privileges and prerogatives as against private citizens, and that the extent of these rights is to be determined on principles different from the considerations which fix the legal rights of one citizen towards another. The second is the necessity of the so-called separation of powers, of preventing the legislature, the executive and the Courts from encroaching on one another's powers."

If we examine this feature further, we may see that it is due to the characteristic desire handed down by all the traditions of the Bourbon monarchy and the Napoleonic Empire to increase the power of the executive, to make it to a large extent independent of the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, arising from a settled jealousy of any interference of the judiciary in matters of State. All matters, therefore, in which either the State or its officials are involved, requiring adjudication, are decided, not by the ordinary Courts of the land, but by the administrative tribunals composed of officials.

The 'droit administratif' is the body of rules regulating such matters. "It determines the position and liabilities of all State officials, the civil rights and liabilities of all private individuals in their dealings with officials as representing the State, and the procedure by which these rights and liabilities are enforced."

It is not necessary to describe here the whole system of administrative law and administrative courts of France, nor to point out all their peculiar features. As they have been made so familiar to us in the luminous pages of Professor Dicéy's Law of the Constitution one could only repeat his words here. It is sufficient to note how large a power the central executive possesses in France by its immunity from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts for all its official acts. The official courts are not merely swayed by official sympathies, interests and prejudices, but they look at the questions before them and decide them from a point of view, different from that of the ordinary courts. They consider, not whether the plaintiff has been injured, but whether the defendant official has acted in the discharge of his duties, *bond-fide*, in obedience to the commands of superiors; not whether each party has a claim to strict justice, but whether the paramount interests of the State have not suffered. The separating of the executive from the judicial power has led, in the French system, to a concentration of a great deal of judicial power in the hands of the executive. Herein, again, it offers an instructive contrast to the state of things in British India. In British India the combination of executive and judicial power in the hands of the same official has led in many cases to a state of things similar to that produced by the 'droit administratif' in the French system. But, although there are other grounds on which such combination is objected to, yet, the circumstance that the executive perform judicial functions in respect of matters which come before them administratively, is one of the chief objections to the combination of the two functions in India. But whereas this is quite the normal state of things under the French system, it is an abnormal situation in British India, necessitated, as we are told, by the circumstances of the case; it is justified only on grounds of expediency. Consequently the union is, if we may use the expression, a personal one and not a real one. In France, the vesting of judicial powers in the executive in administrative matters is due to the very principles of their Government. In India it is due to special circumstances; consequently, notwithstanding this personal union, the cardinal principle of English institutions—the rule or sovereignty of law, the supremacy of the courts of the land over all citizens,

official or non-official, and the legal liability of all, official or non-official, for breaches of the law, in spite of their being committed in pursuance of executive orders—is as fully recognised and followed in India as in England.

It would be an interesting study to compare the effects of this administrative system with those of the British system in India and to note how far such is adapted to meet the requirements of the Indian peoples and to foster their material, social, and political progress, but it is one which requires a far deeper knowledge of both the systems than any which the present writer can pretend to. We might, however, try to note the effects which the French system has produced on the administration of French India and on its progress. The maintenance of a strong, highly centralised government, so necessary in all cases in which the people themselves have not advanced to the stage at which they can be left to manage their own affairs, has ensured to the French Indian territories a very efficient administration. The policy of assimilation by which the colony is regarded as a mere administrative division of the *Republique Française*, has tended to introduce a high sense of responsibility among its officials and has secured a very economical administration, notwithstanding the difficulties which the French Indian Government are put to in maintaining their prestige as a separate Government in India. The finances of the colony are managed with extreme prudence, and are considered part of those of France, which itself contributes to the expenses of the colony. The variety of taxes imposed in India on the model of France are not productive and their incidence is not greatly felt. The body of the population, agriculturists and merchants, are comparatively more lightly taxed than their fellows in British India and are contented and thrifty. The educational policy of the French Republic also has tended to diffuse widely a general education, male as well as female, among the inhabitants, and the results compare favourably with those achieved in British India.

At the same time the establishment of an over-centralised administration has tended to check the growth of a desire or taste for self-government, of a craving to take part in public affairs, so necessary to a people possessed of universal suffrage. Especially so, when there is no such national and patriotic feeling which might form the basis for political union. The very wide discretionary powers of the central executive and the maintenance of administrative law have not tended to infuse that respect for justice and equality before law and that love of order which are a condition of fitness for the exercise of political rights. Nor does the French system of over-government tend to foster the growth

of civil liberty and individual rights. For the absence of the supremacy of law has given no legal security to the rights of individuals. The French administrative institutions have, therefore, been alien to the growth of free institutions, of the right of civil liberty, which, in the absence of a common bond of nationality and patriotism, is primarily necessary for a people possessed of political liberty and universal suffrage.

The elective institutions of the colony have, as we have seen, powers far in disproportion to their elaborate structure. The tendency to preserve all administrative powers in the hands of the central executive has left the elective institutions with very limited powers indeed. In the first place the *conseils*, being merely copies of the councils of prefecture in France, are vested with no legislative powers, subordinate or sovereign. The Chambers alone have the right of legislating for the colonies. Such matters as do not come strictly within the legislative power are regulated by presidential decrets. In fact, decrets largely take the place of laws in all matters of particular concern in the colony. The application of French law to all Indians, the law relating to the personal status of the inhabitants, the constitution of the elective councils, of the courts and of the various administrative authorities, are all alike regulated by decrets. The powers vested in the *conseils* are therefore, purely administrative, and from the fact that they owe their origin to executive decrets, and from the absence of a power of legislative control over the executive, the powers of the *conseils* are not effective enough to control the administrative authorities. Besides the qualified powers which the *conseil generale* possesses in regard to the economical administration of the colony, the only substantial power it has is in the voting of the budget. But even here the obligatory expenses, that is, those which are necessary for the carrying on of the administration, must be voted by the council; else, the Governor can provide for it himself. The *conseils locaux* have been made purely consultative. The *conseils municipaux* are even more directly under the authority of the Governor. Add to this, that the decisions of the *conseils* can always be annulled if they are opposed to any law, decret, or even an administrative regulation, and we can have no hesitation in concluding that the elective institutions in the colony itself do not invest the demos with any effective power either over legislation or over administration.

But, such as they are, the elective institutions might have been a power for good in the colony. The moral force exerted by the opinions of duly elected representatives of the people on the executive in a country governed on the basis of universal suffrage might have been great. As it is, however, the

moral force of these conseils is very small. The reasons for this lie in the peculiar features which have attended the introduction of representative institutions in French India. It has already been pointed out how presidential decrets in 1880-1882 have introduced important alterations in the 'statut personnel' of the Indians and in the political privileges of the various classes of people in French India. The formation of the three listes with equal proportions of councillors for each liste has tended merely to introduce a factious spirit in the elections. The formation of the listes by the State itself has made it impossible that any definite political principles might grow up with each liste. It has produced the undesirable consequence of each liste allying itself with another so as to exclude the third from all participation of power. In this struggle for combination no political principles are involved. The listes have been theoretically based on supposed racial differences; they have been introduced by the State itself with the avowed object of inducing the 'natifs,' when they choose, to renounce their indigenous status. But the results of this "three listes" system have been quite different. The second 'liste,' consisting of the 'renoncants,' those who had renounced their native status, came to be composed of purely the Christian population of the colony who had chosen to 'renounce;' no other natives, consistently with their religious and social scruples, have found it possible to renounce their status as natives, although the act of 'renunciation' itself does not involve any alteration of religious or social customs. The second 'liste,' therefore, has come to be composed of mainly the Christian population of the colony, who, conscious of their having renounced their former status, have sought to attach themselves more and more to the first 'liste,' which is composed of Europeans and their descendants. Both are of the same religion and are governed by the same laws of France. In the struggle for combination, therefore, it was inevitable that the first two listes combined and left the third to its own resources in the game of politics. The consequence of this has been that the third 'liste' has been constrained to use the only effective power in its hands for the purposes of its game. This is the election to the Assemblies in France. This is the trump card in its hands. This it could use with far more effect than all the limited powers which the first two 'listes' have been able to wield and to monopolise to themselves in the conseils in India. The elections to the Assemblies are based, not on Presidential Decrets, but on the 'lois organique,' the constitutional laws, which not even the ordinary legislature could alter. The deputy is elected by pure universal suffrage; the sénateur, as we all know, by an indirect process of popular election, in

which, even though the first two 'listes' exert considerable influence, the third liste by its numerical strength, or rather by the want of it in the other two 'listes,' generally manages to secure a majority of senatorial electors from its ranks. In the elections to the Assemblies then, the numerically strong third 'liste' gets the mastery over the other two 'listes' and always secures its own deputy and usually its own senator. It therefore makes the best out of this. Among the many candidates in France who seek the suffrages of the people in India, who aspire to the lucrative and influential position of deputy or senateur, they choose the one who promises them most. This is no new feature in French politics. The policy of subsidizing the populace by promising works of beneficence to the electoral areas is well established in France and is only too well followed in the case of French India by those retired officials and functionaries from India who seek to sit in the Assemblies.

But what is the aim of these parties in the government of the colony? The colony is regarded politically as a part of France and the elective institutions within it possess no legislative powers, but only very limited administrative powers. Consequently any interest which the people might evince in politics, must be in those of France itself, nay of Paris, for that is the centre of political life in France. The system by which the institutions of a department of France have been reproduced in a distant colony has placed a French Indian in the same position towards politics as a Frenchman, say of the Department of the Seine. Needless to say that while a Frenchman is directly and intensely interested in the political questions discussed in the Chambers at Paris and makes his opinions felt on the Government, the Indian, as represented by a single deputy and a single senateur among a six hundred, feels but the remotest interest in them. The elections to the Assemblies in France, therefore, are conducted not on the basis of the political principles on which opinions are divided in France, nor on any principles regarding the administration of French India itself; but they are conducted on the basis of obtaining as much influence over the Government as possible by the election of a powerful or influential man with the ministry at home who might be moved in all cases in which the local executive are not well disposed towards the 'third liste.' It is clear then that neither the elections to the Assemblies nor those to the local conseils are calculated to inspire a certain moral responsibility of the government to the people. Neither of them is based on any definite political aims. The first is conducted on the basis of procuring indirect influence over the Government, the second on the basis of a class repre-

sentation which has given rise to factions and intrigues for power.*

It is therefore apparent that the French elective institutions, as they have been introduced into India, have not tended to foster the political education or political progress of the people. The populace are, indeed, vested with a political power which they are in a position neither to understand nor to appreciate. The result is that the mass becomes liable to move at the beck and call of scheming politicians. If the masses in the most advanced countries are liable to be led, it is still more natural that a population who cannot understand the sovereign political power vested in them should be entirely under the control of the popular leaders. The aim in the elections, as managed by these leaders, is, as has been pointed out above, to obtain influence with the ministry at home so as to bring pressure to bear on the executive in India, by electing an influential representative. The conflict of the power of the 'listes,' with the power of the populace, practically the third 'liste,' has had for its effect a general lowering of tone in the politics of the colony, and since the only aim of the parties is to obtain influence with the administration, the moral force of the elective institutions which might otherwise be felt by the executive is reduced to a minimum.

The executive is swayed between these two influences, the influence of the conseils, the local legal representatives of the populace, and that of the deputy or sénateur—the central representative of the people; in other words between the power of the first two listes and power of the mass, *i.e.*, the third 'liste,' as manipulated by its leaders and wire-pullers. It not unoften happens that the superior and more effective, though limited, power of the third 'liste' makes itself felt on any official who chooses to run counter to the opinions of the third 'liste,' or rather its leaders, in the shape of a private order of rebuke or censure, or transfer of the functionary through the good offices of the sénateur or deputy who exerts his influence with the ministry on behalf of the third 'liste.' Nevertheless one might have expected that the position and powers of the Governor would place him always in a position of independence of the intrigues of party leaders or the evils of class representation. As a matter of fact, however, it is not so. The

* Certain material alterations were made in the elective privileges of the 'renoncants;' under which 'renoncants' satisfying certain qualifications of merit have been incorporated into the first liste along with the Europeans, while the rest have been added to the native 'liste' which is now the second 'liste.' A redistribution of seats has taken place in consequence of this; but the principle of according special privileges to the special classes of people, in civil as well as political rights, of encouraging renunciations of native status is yet maintained.

Governor has, like all the rest of us, his own sympathies and antipathies, his own interests and those of the public to serve. Even he fears to displease the *senateur* or *deputé* who might be very influential and might perhaps hold a minor place in the ministry; he himself aspires to become *deputy* or *senateur* on his return to France by the suffrages of the third '*liste*' or its leaders. He cannot choose to defy the third '*liste*' or its leaders and wire-pullers. But there are other considerations also. In the first place the Governor is generally a Christian, or professes to be one. Whatever might be the attitude of France towards the religious orders, there is no doubt that the clergy in French India exert a very great influence in the social life of the Christians of the colony and indirectly on their behalf exercise a great influence over the administration and its authorities. The first two '*listes*,' consisting of Christians, naturally have the sympathy of the Christian Governor, and the clergy—the respect for whom, quite apart from any religious convictions, is imbedded far more among the French than among the English. Besides, the more educated men come up from the first two '*listes*' partly on account of the educational activity of the congregations, which are more free in French India than in France, and partly on account of the policy of the administration in merely subsidizing institutions for higher education, which in French India are maintained by the religious orders. In the matter of all State patronage, of appointments, subventions, charitable reliefs, the Christians generally get the preference. Between these two difficulties the Governor manages as best as he can. He can only denounce the elective system as a curse on French India. He can only press, as more than one Governor has done under these circumstances, for the total abolition of the electoral privileges of the population. Politics, in French India, have therefore tended to become corrupt, to become the object of intrigue and jobbing by interested self-seekers, or by powerful religious orders, or by ambitious popular leaders.

Nevertheless the phenomena presented by the working of democratic institutions in French India are not altogether discouraging. Notwithstanding the fact that the introduction of universal suffrage has placed no effective power, legislative, or administrative in the hands of the *demos*, the maintenance of a government democratic in form has produced many salutary results in the territories. The formal recognition of the people as the ultimate source of all power in the State has led in the first place to an identification of the interests of the government and the governed, of the interests of France and those of the colonies. It has consequently led to a thrifty and economic administration under which all officials are

imbued with a sense of responsibility to the people, who, whatever may be their immediate disability to control the administration, are yet in the last resort the theoretical fountain-head of all authority. The formal declarations of the equality of man, of the *liberté, égalité and fraternité* of the *Republique Française* has, notwithstanding the great practical limitations to which the doctrine has been subjected in French India, nevertheless, led to a free social intercourse between European and Indian, and to the absence of a spirit of exclusiveness in the superior race which a purely paternal government tends to foster. In the next place, the establishment of the French democracy has led to the adoption of the broad educational policy of that government and has consequently tended to the wide diffusion of a general education and culture which may eventually lead to an awakening of the people to their responsibilities as citizens of the French Empire.

To conclude these observations, we have seen that the introduction of the highly-centralised administrative system of France, while it has on the one hand secured an efficient and economic administration of the colonies, has, on the other hand, proved alien to the growth of free institutions and the development of ideas of civil liberty among a population democratically governed. The concentration of wide discretionary authority in the hands of the executive and the absence of the rule of law and supremacy of the courts of the lands, tending to restrict the powers alike of the legislature and the courts in regard to matters affecting French India, has greatly restricted the freedom of individuals. In France, the existence of these powers may not be of much consequence; for, in such an advanced country the limits of executive authority are clearly perceived by the people, whose ultimate sovereign authority is always respected and whose very inclinations are always obeyed by the executive authority. But in a country like India just feeling the force of western civilisation, where the mass of the people have not yet learnt to differentiate between the executive, legislative and judicial authorities, the maintenance of legal limits to authority, and the supremacy of the law and the law courts over official and non-official alike would seem to be primarily necessary for securing the liberty of individuals and the developing of free institutions.

We have next seen that the scantiness of local government has furnished the people with no common political standpoint from which the political life of the colony may develop, and that the possession of sovereign political powers by the inhabitants, since it could not be effective enough in the councils of the French

Empire to cause a legislative or constitutional control over the local administration, has only tended to degenerate the politics of the colony into a clamour of the various 'listes' for obtaining influence with the administration in French India, through the medium of the representatives in the Chambers, and with no higher political aims. We have also seen that the local institutions are vested with no legislative powers and with very little effective power over the administration; that their moral influence over the latter is inconsiderable.

Any sound system of initiating a politically infant community into methods of popular government must prepare the ground before the seed is sown. There is no one political system indiscriminately suited to for all peoples. Each must be based on a model suited to the character, disposition, wants and circumstances of the people. The successful working, again, of a democratic government based on universal suffrage in a new country demands certain essential qualities in the individuals composing the body politic, and the dangers to be apprehended from the introduction of democracy are increased when the transformation is effected by sudden changes. To neglect these considerations and to reproduce the institutions of advanced France in their entirety into French India is merely to introduce confusion into the existing state of things. Political progress is a slow and painful affair, and the adoption of an alien political system must accord with the national life if it is to be enduring and beneficial. The competency of a community to exercise political functions depends upon the extent to which it has developed the qualities necessary for exercising them. These are the qualities afforded by a sound political education, by habits of self-reliance and self-discipline and self-government. To neglect the exercise and begin with the power is, as Buckle points out, a fundamental error. It is only to be expected that the experiment of democracy under such circumstances should not produce any satisfactory results in the political life of the community. The beneficial effects of the democracy in French India are, therefore, to be found rather in the free social intercourse and civilising influences which it has induced, in the general education and culture which it has diffused, results which might ultimately improve the political life of the community and make democracy a success among them, than in securing the liberty and freedom of the people and advancing their political progress. That the administration of the colony is, notwithstanding, highly satisfactory is due to the innate strength and high centralisation of the French executive Government, to the economy and efficiency of its officials, and to the extremely limited power which the people themselves possess in the local government.

ART. VIII.—ART EDUCATION IN INDIA.

THE educational branch of the Indian administration has not, on the whole, been conspicuous for its success. After many experiments and failures, it may be said to be adapting itself gradually to the peculiar and diverse conditions of the country; but it has hardly yet passed through the experimental stage, and many of the mistakes of its first organisation have yet to be remedied. For years England herself lagged far behind many European nations in educational matters, and it was only human, therefore, that Indian administrators, overburdened with all the complicated and delicate problems connected with the Government of the Empire, should fail to achieve a conspicuous success in a question which the mother-country had so much neglected. But there is the peculiarity about Art education in India, that, whereas, in every other department of the service, profit has been derived from failures and progress evolved from mistakes, this one alone seems to be always enveloped in difficulty and doubt, without a prospect of enlightenment, and always the subject of discussions ending in the most lame and impotent conclusions. This is the more extraordinary, since in India the general conditions are altogether favourable for Art progress. Ever since the dawn of history, India has been known as the nursery of Art and, from before the British rule was established, the artistic instincts of the people have never been suppressed. Every religious sect—Brahmin, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh or Mahomedan—has left its mark on the Art of the country; all the conquering hordes which, century after century, swept down from the North and ravaged the country, have brought Art in their train and written the history of their times in masterpieces which will ever command the admiration of the world. We have established a peace such as India has never known before—Liberty of the subject, law and order, material progress, in fact all the first conditions favourable to the development of Art, among a people whose traditions and instincts are always artistic—all these we have established in the India of to-day; why is it, then, that the last half century, so far from being a great Art epoch, finds Indian Art year by year becoming more corrupt and degraded?

No one who knows India well can fail to see how the taste of the native aristocracy and plutocracy has been utterly vitiated; how indigenous Architecture has become almost extinct; how the Art handicrafts of the country are only exploited for the sake of gain by the Philistine dealer, whose

standard of taste is regulated by the demands of tourists and curiosity-hunters. Indian Art has fallen into such disrepute among the natives themselves that everything which does not come straight from Europe is looked upon as something inferior. The native nobility affect a taste for the *Brun- magem* Art we have introduced into the country, and a sentimental passion for spurious "Old Masters" supplied to them at fancy prices by unscrupulous agents and picture dealers. What remains to-day of the real, living Art of India must be looked for in out-of-the-way places, and is regarded by the natives as old-fashioned and behind the times. Even the curiosity dealer finds his business not what it used to be. The not too discriminating taste of the Globe-trotter is getting rather nauseated with the common-place bric-à-brac which is palmed off upon him as Indian Art, and even the glamour of the gorgeous East hardly spreads a halo of romance over the crude and tasteless ornament manufactured for the European and American markets. The painful fact must be admitted that, whatever the cause may be, since our rule has been established, the old Art of India has been almost killed; the taste of the people, formerly led into safe paths by the splendid traditions of the Indian handicraftsmen, has been changed and corrupted, while we have given nothing from our own national Art to compensate India for what has been lost.

This is not an exaggerated picture of the present state of Art in India. The facts have been more or less fully realised by the Indian Government for some time past. The causes which have produced such a state of things have been far less perfectly understood. Generally the question has been treated more from the standpoint of a Municipal Council than as a matter of great Imperial concern, and though it has been dealt with in innumerable despatches, resolutions, reports of Committees and other documents, hardly anything but vague suggestions and rhetorical platitudes have ever come out of them. Of late years the general drift of policy has been to treat Indian Art as something too abstruse and mysterious to be interfered with, even for the purpose of saving it from annihilation. But, as a scape-goat must always be found when the wheels of official administration do not run smoothly, the Indian Schools of Art have most unjustly been held responsible for a state of things which they could never, under the most favourable conditions, have prevented. For how could four Schools of Art, separated from each other by many hundreds of miles and under different Administrations, which have never yet been able to decide a definite and continuous policy for the development of Art education, be expected to effect a revolution in the Art feeling of 350,000,000 people, or to influence, to any

appreciable extent, those adverse conditions which, in the nature of things, must have been very deep-seated and wide-spreading to have produced such disastrous effects on the Art of the whole country?

Whether the Schools of Art have been as successful as they might have been is quite beside the question. Certainly, within the scope which has been allowed them and in spite of many disadvantages, they have accomplished a great deal of solid, useful work, but no reasonable being, acquainted with the real condition of things in India, would ever believe for a moment that the salvation of Indian Art depended solely on the efficiency or inefficiency of the Schools of Art at present existing.

Indian Art was certainly in a state of decadence before the British ascendancy; but we need hardly look for any other explanation of this than in the political unrest, internal disorganisation, disorder and misgovernment which accompanied the dissolution of the Moghal Empire. When these causes were removed, one would naturally expect that Art would have revived under the benign influence of the "pax Britannica." No doubt there were some influences, originating with the very foundations of our Indian rule and long before we had any pretence of a policy in Art education, which, the more British influence predominated, acted more and more injuriously to Art in India. One of these was the circumstance that Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the centres from which the ascendancy of our rule radiated over the whole of India, were not centres of Indian Art. The early settlers of the old John Company were in no way concerned, as is the Government of India to-day, in the administration of a great Empire. They were hard-headed merchants, absorbed in their own affairs, which were the development of the Company's trade and the protection of their lands and factories. There were no reasons of State why they should concern themselves with the influence their example might have on Indian Art. It pleased their national pride and kept alive home memories to retain the architectural style then fashionable in the country mansions, public offices and churches of England, and to imitate, as far as conditions of climate would permit, the life of the old country. When our influence became paramount in India, the style and standard of taste thus created in the capital cities became the model for all the native aristocracy under our protection. With the native princes it became the mark of modern culture and a sign of sympathy with the British domination to build and furnish their palaces in the same style. This was the beginning of the degradation of Indian Art, for nothing more hopelessly irreconcilable with Oriental ideas of Art could ever have been adopted than the cold, formal classicism then

fashionable in England. It was the greatest misfortune for India that, at the time when the foundations of our Indian administration were laid, the national taste in England had sunk to the lowest depths. It was the time when Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's were being filled with those horrors in marble, intended to glorify the deeds of the great departed, which still disfigure those two noble monuments of English Art; when the old Art handicrafts of the country were being almost extinguished by the crushing competition of machine-made products, and when all individuality in Architecture and the Fine Arts was drowned in a vapid affectation of classic taste.

It may be doubted, however, whether, even if Art taste in England at that time had been better than it was, we should ever have arrived immediately at a right appreciation of the policy required for the development of Art in India. It is one of our national prejudices that what is good enough for the Anglo-Saxon is good enough for the rest of the world, if not too good. That was the key-note of our policy in educational matters in India, as well as in many other things.

However indifferent to the true interests of the country the Honourable East India Company may have been in their artistic ideas, the old Anglo-Indian architecture had at least this merit—it was the best that England could produce at that time, and, in spite of their monotony and baldness, the houses, churches and other buildings of fifty years ago and older are not without a certain grim solemnity and dignity, in keeping with the prim fashions of the time and suggestive of the character of their occupants, while the honesty of purpose of the builders is shown by the strict regard to comfort and adaptability to the climate with which all the old buildings were designed. Very few modern Anglo-Indian buildings are equal to the old ones in these respects.

Since the Crown assumed the responsibilities of Imperial rule, it must be admitted that some progress has been made in Art education, though very little has been done to repair the injuries unconsciously inflicted on Indian Art by the early settlers of the East India Company. It is a great step gained that, in educational matters generally, it is now being recognised that India is a country with an ancient civilisation, literature and Art, containing within itself the means of development and requiring different methods of administration from primitive colonies like Australia, New Zealand or "Darkest Africa." The Schools of Art have generally improved upon the crude systems of Art education imported from England when they were first instituted, about 50 years ago; but Indian Art on the whole still goes on the downward path. The mea-

asures which have been devised or proposed to arrest its decay amount to very little. Though Indian statesmen are always deploring the decline of native industries, it has never yet occurred to them that the degradation of popular sentiment in Art may be an important factor in this great question. As long as Art is regarded only as a hobby, a means of distraction from the worries of serious official duties, but not a subject of sufficient importance for the close personal attention of those who have the heavy care of Government on their shoulders, so long will Indian Art continue to decay. The practical British mind looks to railways, canals, roads, bridges, famine prevention, sanitation and police, and the development of mills, factories and warehouses as the chief means of India's re-generation. Art is a mere question of sentiment which may be left for a more convenient season. Perhaps the artists of the nineteenth century are themselves greatly to blame for the attitude which the British public has taken in regarding Art as only a subject for Society functions and drawing-room conversation, to be put aside in the serious work of every-day life. Art in the present century has been too much of a sham, and the general public, seeing the deception, have fallen back on pure utilitarianism, preferring honest ugliness to pretentious art. If Art in England during the last quarter of a century has begun to assert itself again, to some extent, as an essential part of our national life, it is only because the better education of our artists and Art workers of all classes has begun to convince the public that the elementary basis and justification of all technic Art lies in the ultimate perfection of utility, and that even the highest forms of Art gain in dignity from being associated with a utilitarian purpose.

India is a conservative country and, before such advanced ideas are generally acknowledged there, indigenous Art may be dead and buried; but it is not too much to hope that a serious consideration of the causes which have led to the deterioration of Indian Art may convince the Government, before it is too late, that it lies in their power to arrest, to some extent, the mischief which has been done. It ought to appeal to the practical sense of Englishmen that, in discussing Indian Art, we are chiefly confined to Art handicrafts, for the Fine Arts of the painter and sculptor, from various causes which need not be discussed here, have never developed far in the same directions as they have in Europe. The taste of the modern native aristocracy has certainly not been improved by a partiality for European pictures and sculpture. They are astonished and pleased by the vividness and realism of European Fine Art; but they neither look for nor understand any higher artistic qualities. Neither in England have Fine Art Aca-

demies and Exhibitions had any important influence in creating the great Art movement of the last few years. The impetus was given by wider views of Art Education and the opening of the eyes of the British artisan and of the public through the magnificent collections of the South Kensington Museum, resulting in a revival of Architecture and a better understanding of Art in its industrial forms.

Modern Indian Art is corrupt and decaying, because for the most part it has lost hold of the sentiment of the people of the country. It is like English Art of fifty years ago, affected and insincere. No Art can ever flourish if the national sentiment is not in it. To find the causes which have led to the decay of Indian Art, we must, therefore, first investigate the reasons for this degradation of popular sentiment. At first thought any one who is not closely acquainted with Indian affairs might imagine that the explanation is easily to be found in the changed political conditions of the country. It might be argued plausibly that, as the Art of every country has its periods of rise and decay, so India, under the domination of the practical and unsentimental Anglo-Saxon, now turns its attention to purely industrial pursuits and looks less to the imaginative and spiritual side of life. Against this argument we have the indisputable facts, which Indian statesmen are always deploring, that the proportion of the artisans to the rest of the population is either stationary or steadily diminishing, and that the native capitalist is even now very shy of any industrial undertaking, preferring to invest his money in landed property or in usury. Furthermore, Indian Art in all times before the British rule has always shown a wonderful power of assimilating foreign influences, whether drawn from Europe or Asia. What, then, is the reason for the apparent blighting influence of the last fifty years on the Art of India?

The history of the Art of every country is contained in the history of its Architecture, at least in countries where Architecture has reached the dignity of an Art. Every national movement in Art has first found expression in building. A decline in Architecture means a decline in national taste, and thus, when Architecture decays, the rest of the Arts suffer with it. The general truth of this proposition every student of Art will admit. Architecture has given birth to all the arts of the painter and sculptor, the carver and inlayer of wood and stone, the glass painter, the plasterer, the gesso, or lacquer worker, and minor arts, while it has exercised an enormous influence on the development of the arts of the weaver, potter and workers in iron, bronze, brass and other metals.

When, therefore, we begin to enquire into the causes of the

decay of Indian Art, the first and most important question to be asked is—how has British rule affected the Architecture of the country? The answer to this question is the key to the whole difficulty. It is astonishing that, in all the official enquiries which have been held, this point has been hardly alluded to. Committees and Commissions innumerable have been appointed to enquire into mere side issues, such as the working of the Schools of Art, and for some years past the whole discussion has been centred upon the merits or demerits of these four institutions. It is not surprising, therefore, that such beating about the bush has ended in nothing save an accumulation of paper in Government offices. The Secretary of State, in despair, once proposed to abolish the schools altogether, or, what would have been worse, to place them under municipal control, thus practically washing his hands of the whole affair and leaving Indian Art severely alone.

It has been pointed out above how, even in the early days of the John Company, Anglo-Indian taste, or want of taste, in Architecture had exerted an evil influence over Indian Art. But the evil was perpetuated and intensified a hundred-fold when, on the formation of the Department of Public Works, the Government instituted what was practically a monopoly of the whole civil Architecture of the country. That in itself might have done no harm if those who organised the Department had reflected that by this monopoly the Government practically took into their own hands the future of Indian Art. But so little were the interests of Art understood or cared for, so little were Indian administrators then concerned with the most obvious teachings of Art history, that, in organising the Department, practically no provision was made for training any of its officers as architects. Architecture, in the Indian Public Works system, has always been treated as a minor branch of Civil Engineering; it could not be otherwise in a course of training, only of three or four years duration, combining both Engineering and Architecture. Indian styles are not recognised as Architecture at all. Even in European styles the mere smattering of architectural grammar, such as committing to memory the five classic orders and the forms of Gothic mouldings, which is the most the Public Works officer acquires at college, is worse than useless to him, for it leads him off the path he ought to go when he comes to India. The inevitable result of this system of training is that minor architectural works, which the young officer has to supervise when he first comes to India, are regulated by a sealed-pattern, machine-made, departmental style, which has been evolved out of a long series of departmental mistakes, leaving as little as possible to the discretion or indiscretion of the officer. The more important architec-

tural works, such as are found in the large towns, are handed over to any senior engineer, either one who has had special opportunities or has shown a predilection for architectural design, improved and developed by a course of experimenting on Government buildings.

The horrors which have been perpetrated in the name of Architecture under this happy-go-lucky system, it is needless to particularise. They offend the eye and haunt the imagination in every station of India from Simla, Calcutta and Bombay down to the smallest mofussil town. Of course, there have been exceptional men, self-taught, architecturally speaking, who have overcome the disadvantages and difficulties in which they are placed by the departmental system; but even these, as a rule, have only striven to excel in architectural design as it was understood in England before the present revival in Art began, and have failed entirely to appreciate the immense resources, now going to waste, which India places in the hands of architects and designers who know and are willing to make use of them. It is no disparagement of the splendid and devoted services done for India by the Public Works Engineers in their own special branch to say that this treatment of the noblest of all the Arts is unworthy of England's reputation as a great civilising power and unworthy of the great mission she has set herself to achieve in India. It is the ruin of Indian Art and a source of great material loss to the country, which can and should be avoided. We give with one hand and take away with the other. We build splendid railways, roads and bridges; we dig canals and irrigate hundreds of thousands of acres, prevent famines, or strive to alleviate suffering when they occur; but, on the other hand, we corrupt the artistic sentiment of the people, and by so doing cause the ruin of the ancient handicrafts which have always been the pride of India. Fortunately for Art, in some parts of India, notably in Rajputana, Central India and the Punjab, the natives have shown themselves more independent and less imitative of European fashions than in Bengal, Madras and other more modernised provinces. Generally speaking, with the "educated" or English speaking natives, Art is not an individual feeling—it is merely a fashion, and when the fashion they imitate is only that set by the Public Works Engineers, it is easy to understand that the hopes of raising the standard of their taste are not promising.

Most of the Princes and rich men of India, when they require a new palace or mansion, requisition the services of a Public Works officer, who designs a pretentious edifice in the Anglo-Indian style. So, instead of affording occupation to a small army of the hereditary Art workmen of India, wood carvers, stone carvers, fresco painters, inlayers of wood and

stone, potters and others innumerable—each of these buildings is handed over to a set of workmen trained in the traditions of the Public Works Department to copy mechanically, from working drawings, things without beauty, and to pile up a mass of brick or stone, without any sort of artistic expression, testifying only in size and empty display to the vanity of its occupier. The furnishing of the building must follow the same style; the walls must be hung with European pictures and the rooms upholstered with European carpets and furniture by the most fashionable European firms. This is typical of what has been going on ever since our rule was established in India. Is it a wonder that Indian Art decays, and that the old handicraftsmen are driven to agriculture for an occupation? The whole system strikes at the very foundation of Art, and, unless it is altered, the entire ruin of Indian Art is inevitable.

People may suppose, when they see the considerable trade in bric-à-brac and so-called curiosities which has resulted from the Great International Exhibitions in Europe and America, that Indian Art has found a new market abroad to compensate for the loss of the old one at home. But can any one imagine for a moment that Arts which have been created by the spontaneous sentiment of a people, finding its first and chief expression in Architecture, can ever thrive and develop by the manufacture of cheap curiosities for foreign export? The first condition for the healthy development of Art is its sincerity. Sincerity, as Lord Leighton said at the first meeting of the Society for the Encouragement and Preservation of Indian Art in 1891, is the true element of life in Art. In these Indian curiosities there is no sincerity; for the workmen who manufacture them on contract they have no meaning; for the purchasers they are only curiosities. Those who have been able to compare the standard of design and workmanship in all branches of Indian Art exhibited at the great Exhibition of 1851 with recent Exhibitions, know well how great the falling off has been. Quite apart from any question of artistic merit or sentiment, the new export markets which have been opened for the Indian workman are not a hundredth part of the home market which has been for the most part closed to him. It is futile to argue that the splendid engineering works of the Public Works Department more than compensate for the injuries done to Indian Art. That is quite beside the question. The fault is that we impose upon the Public Works Engineers a double responsibility and only train them for a single one.

There are many who, while admitting the deficiencies of the present system, argue that this system has been forced upon us by economical necessities. Half a loaf, they say, is better than no bread: the Public Works Department has given India

more than half the loaf. The State cannot afford to employ all these Art handicraftsmen in its public works; the country wants plain, economical court houses, hospitals, post offices, police stations and similar works of utility, in which there is no room for Art. That Art in India cannot be reconciled with economy is the fault of the Public Works Department, not of Art. "Ugly is only half way to a thing," says Meredith's "Old Buccaneer" in one of his wise maxims. The Indian Public Works Department believes the other half unattainable because it does not know how to get it. The engineer, as a rule, regards Art as synonymous with ornament, to be added more or less lavishly, according to the means at his disposal, when he has finished with his engineering. He has no knowledge of constructive design in Architecture, or believes it to be only a matter of calculation, like the thickness of an iron girder. But if the untrained peasant in Italy and many other parts of the world can evolve from his inner consciousness, in the infrequent intervals of repose from the labours of cultivation, a style of Architecture at once practical, economical, comfortable and pleasing to the eye, into which no vestige of ornament enters, it ought not to be impossible in India to adapt architectural design to the capacity of the public purse. For in India there still exists, unrecognised by the Public Works Department, a class of native workmen, passing rich on fifteen rupees a month, who are at the same time most skilful builders, decorators and architects.

These men are exactly of the same class as the master-builders of the middle ages, to whom we owe the great master-pieces of Gothic Architecture; they inherit all the traditions of Indian Architecture; they can draw, design, build, carve and decorate, in good taste and with understanding of constructive principles; but they know nothing of Public Works *formulae* and therefore are held of no account. All this artistic and architectural wealth goes to waste in India because the Public Works Department does not know how to make use of it. There have been one or two distinguished exceptions, of men, like Colonel Jacob at Jeypore, with artistic instincts which have revolted against departmental traditions, who have, by a study and practice of native architecture, done splendid services to Indian Art; but individuals do not count for much in India against the established rules of a great Government department. The ordinary Public Works officer ignores altogether the Art of the country, and borrows his Art and Architecture from European professional periodicals, trade catalogues or illustrated works. A typical example will show the injustice done to Indian Art in this way. Not many years ago, a number of important buildings

were being erected in Calcutta, and for their external decoration terra-cotta to the value of a lac of rupees was obtained from England. This terra-cotta was not of exceptional artistic merit, to set an example to the Bengalee artisan, but the ordinary commercial ornament which is sold by the square yard by European manufacturers. Now Bengal is a great brick-making country, and there once existed a beautiful Art in moulded brick-work, still to be seen in old buildings in many parts of the Province. If a lac of rupees had been spent in reviving this decayed art, public buildings in Calcutta would have had far better ornament and an old industry might have been revived.

In the same way, through the influence of Anglo-Indian taste, the old process of fresco decoration, in which some of the finest examples of Indian Art have been executed during the last 1000 years, will soon be a lost art, replaced by less sanitary, less durable, and less artistic European wall-papers and hangings. For adapting architectural design to local art it only requires officers with a proper architectural and artistic training. Which is the more economical, and statesmanlike policy, to continue to crush out the artistic sentiment of a people by a badly thought out system of departmental organisation, or to reform that system so as to allow Indian Art and industry the scope it had in former times?

What reforms are needed? First, it must be the declared policy of the different Governments to adopt indigenous styles of architecture, as far as possible, in all public buildings. Only to employ professional architects in place of Public Works engineers would not meet the case at all. That has been tried occasionally, and has failed simply because the ordinary European architect in India is too much prejudiced by the pedantries of modern European eclectic architecture to strike out a new path by devoting himself to a study of living oriental styles. Neither would an improved style of European architecture benefit Indian Art, because the average Native, like the average European, is quite incapable of distinguishing good architecture from bad. What is wanted is a revival of Indian architecture to give an outlet for the hereditary Art instincts of Indian handicraftsmen. Oriental architecture should be made a special branch of the Public Works Department. We have established in India schools of Medicine, Law, Agriculture, Forestry, Engineering and Art; why not also Architecture? If it were notified that special advantage in pay and promotion would be given to officers of the Public Works Department possessing a diploma in both Engineering and Architecture, competition for Government appointments is so keen in India that there would be no lack of students.

To afford facilities for study, and as a means of instructing the public, Museums of Architecture should be established in connection with the colleges of Engineering. The example public buildings might then present would be of far more value to India than the actual monetary aid given to native Art in the building of them. When once the native Princes and aristocracy saw that the seal and sign of official approval had been set on Indian Architecture, an immense step would be gained. The native *mistri*, or hereditary master-builder, would find that his services were once more sought after; every rich man's mansion or Rajah's palace which was built would afford employment for hundreds of Indian art workmen; Art industry, restored to its legitimate place, would lift up its head again, and Art as a whole would prosper and develop, because its foundations rested, not on an obsequious imitation of official styles and fashions, but on the artistic instincts of the people. Art Education in India would then at last stand on a firm and rational basis.

It is not to be expected that this consummation would be reached immediately. The mistakes of fifty years cannot be put right in a day; nor is it practicable to pull down and rebuild all the official edifices in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which tend to mislead native taste in architecture. But every student of Art history, indeed every man of any artistic knowledge, must admit that Indian Art would gain more by the restoration of indigenous Architecture to its proper position than by any other possible reform. There have, no doubt, been other and quite different causes which have led to the decay of particular Art industries, especially the great weaving industry, but the extinction of native Architecture is the great avoidable cause of the degeneration of Indian Art. Schools of Art may be developed; Art Museums may be established; Exhibitions may be subsidised; Indian Art may be advertised in Europe and America; these are merely as props to a fabric whose foundations are crumbling away.

From a political standpoint it is not a small thing that the artistic sentiment of the Indian peoples is being extinguished under our rule. A people devoted to Art is a happy and contented people. A people without Art is restless and unhappy. Mrs. Besant, in her crusade for promoting religious education among the Hindus, has received official countenance and support, because Indian statesmen recognise that the decline of religious belief is a danger to the Empire. The decay of Art sentiment is also a danger, for Art, if not a part of Religion, is a door leading to it. From a commercial standpoint India suffers a heavy loss by the ruin of her Art industries. Every ruler who has earned from posterity the title of Great,

or Wise, has spent the resources of the State in encouraging the industrial arts, and money so spent has been well invested, for many States have risen to prosperity and power through the skill of their art handicraftsmen. Art in India, though corrupt and decaying, is still more a part of national life than it is in any European country to-day. Is it not a duty we owe India to preserve for her, while we can, what remains of a splendid inheritance?

E. B. HAVELL.

June, 1899.

ART. IX.—MAGIC AND SCIENCE.

ANCIENT magic was ancient science. To surprise the secrets of nature, and, by surprising them, to control phenomena and turn them to his purposes, has everywhere been the irresistible longing of man, placed amid unseen forces with nothing but his wit to aid him. How marvellously his wit has aided him need not be told ; but the help came slowly, and the victories were gained only after a succession of defeats. That which mainly thwarted him was Impatience, and its offspring, Credulity ; that which mainly aided him was Patience. From the first sprang magic ; from the second, Science. Passion is ever credulous, and when the mind is greatly excited, it is ready to believe almost anything which favours its desires.

The credulity of early ages has also another source. In ignorance of the true order of nature, we find no difficulty in believing that one thing takes place rather than another. What to the cultivated mind seems a physical impossibility, to the uncultivated seems as probable as anything else. It is, therefore, not only far from incredible, it is highly probable to the savage, that the ordinary phenomena of nature should be the actions of capricious beings, whose caprices may be propitiated. He observes the rain falling, the seed sprouting, his cattle perishing, his children sickening, all by agencies unseen, which he at once supposes to be Spirits resembling the spirit within him, though mightier : superhuman in power, they are conceived to be human, in feeling, because no other conception of power is possible to him. In animating nature, man necessarily animates it with a soul like his own. He therefore cannot help supposing that the varied phenomena which pass before him are acts of arbitrary and capricious volition. Like the potentates of his tribe or nation, these Unseen Agencies require to be flattered or intimidated. Incense, sacrifices, ceremonies of homage, prayers and supplications, may captivate their favour. Failing this, there is the resource of incantation, exorcism, amulets and charms ; the aid of some more powerful spirit is invoked, or the secret of some weakness is surprised. Sometimes the malignity of a spirit may be thwarted by the mere invocation of the *name* of a mightier spirit ; and sometimes by the mere employment of a disagreeable object—holy water or a strong smell—before which the demon flies. This is the condition of the mind in all half-civilised peoples, and this is the condition which determines Magic.

In the slow travail of thought, and by the accumulation of

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experience, another condition is brought about, and Science emerges. Before it can emerge, the most important of all changes must have taken place: the phenomena of nature, at least all the most ordinary phenomena, must have been disengaged from this conception of an arbitrary and *capricious* power, similar to human will, and must have been recognised as *constant*, always succeeding each other with fatal regularity. This once recognised, Science can begin slowly to ascertain the *order* of nature--the laws of succession and co-existence; and having in any case ascertained this order, it can predict with certainty the results which will arrive. If I know that the order of nature is such that air which has once been breathed becomes imperfectly adapted for a second breathing, and becomes poisonous after a repetition of the process, I do not, when I see my fellow-creatures perishing because they breathe this vitiated air, attempt to propitiate the noxious spirit by supplications, or to intimidate it by charms and exorcisms. I simply let in the fresh air, knowing that the fresh air will restore the drooping sufferers, because such is the order of Nature. I have learned, O Thaumaturgus! that your Unseen Agencies, mighty as you deem them, are not free, but are fatally subject to inexorable law; they cannot act capriciously, they must act inexorably. If, therefore, I can detect these laws--if I can ascertain what is the inevitable order of succession--it will be quite needless to trouble myself about your Unseen Agencies: You promise by your art to give me power over these Agencies, by which I shall be able to bend Nature to my purpose, to harness her to my triumphant chariot. But if I can once discover the inexorable laws, I can do what you only delusively pretend. With each discovery of the actual order of nature, it has been found that man's power *over* Nature has become greater. He cannot alter that order, but he can adapt himself to it. He cannot change the Unchangeable, but he can predict the Inexorable. And Science thus fulfils the pretensions of Magic; it is Magic grown modest.

In proportion as regularity in the succession of phenomena became ascertained, the domain of superstition and magic became restricted. When it was seen that the seed sprouted and the rain fell in spite of all incantations, and that the direction of the wind was a surer indication than the medicine-man's formula, credulity sought refuge in phenomena less understood. Long after the course of Nature was felt to be beyond the influence of magicians, there was profound belief in their influence over life and death. The phenomena of Disease seemed wholly capricious. An invisible enemy seemed to have struck down the young and healthy warrior; an enraged deity seemed to be destroying tribes. When the epidemic

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breaks out in the Grecian camp, Homer attributes it solely to the rage of Apollo, whose priest has been offended. Down from Olympus the far-darter comes, "like night," sists apart from the camp, and for nine days keeps pouring in his dreadful arrows. The soldiers are struck by this invisible, but too fatal, enemy. The only rescue is by appeasing Apollo's wrath. Thus the cause, or order, of Nature was unsuspected; and ignorant imagination was free to invent the explanation which best pleased it.

The early priests were necessarily magicians. All early religions had a strong bias towards sorcery; because their priests, believing that all the forces of Nature were good and evil demons, necessarily arrogated to themselves a power over these demons, either by propitiation or intimidation. These men never attempted to make mankind better, or to make them wiser; their object was rather to inspire terror, and to propagate the superstitions of which they themselves were dupes. Some secrets they learned, especially the effects of certain herbs in stimulating and stupefying the nervous system, so as to produce visions and hallucinations. They learned, also, how the imagination may be impressed by ceremonies, darkness, lugubrious music, and perfumes, so that the semi-delirious devotee saw whatever he was told to see.

Hecate, for example, was the personification of the mysterious rays which the moon projects into the darkness of night, and only appeared when the moon veiled her disc. To Hecate were attributed the spectres and phantoms of darkness, and all over Greece the rites were celebrated by many practices common to sorcery. Thus everything was brought together to appal the imagination, deceive the senses, and foster sombre conceptions: exorcisms and weird formulas, disgusting philtres, hell-broth made of loathsome objects, such as Shakespeare describes in *Macbeth* :—

*Fillet of a fenny snake,
In the cauldron boil and bake:
Eye of neut, and toe of frog,
Wool of bat, and tongue of dog,
Adder's fork, and blind-worm's sting,
Lizard's leg, and owl's wing,
Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf;
Witches' mummy; maw, and gulf,
Of the ravin'd salt sea shark.*

And to these he adds, with his terrible energy of expression,

*Liver of blaspheming Jew;
Finger of birth-strangled babe,
Ditch-delivered by a drab.*

The mind of a cultivated man in these days, unable to conceive any *direct relation* between the liver of a blaspheming

Jew, and control of the course of Nature, finds it difficult to believe that minds as powerful as his own, under less favourable influences, could seriously credit such incantations. Yet the history of mankind shows that no amount of failure, no argument, no ridicule, no priestly warning and exhortation, could detach men from the practices of sorcery. The temptation to penetrate the secrets of Nature was too strong. Nothing could overcome this temptation while the belief in witchcraft lasted. Nothing could destroy the belief but the slowly-growing conviction that the succession of phenomena was not capricious, but inexorable—every single event being rigorously determined by its antecedent, and not to be altered so long as the antecedent remained the same.

No one believes in Astrology now, because the order of celestial phenomena has been ascertained with remarkable precision. Yet how natural was the belief in starry influences! In the serenity of Asiatic skies, the majestic aspects of the stars would naturally attract incessant notice. It is a tendency, observable in children and savages, to suppose that whatever interests them must also be interested in them. If we look up at the stars, do they not look down on us? If we follow their course with interest, will they not likewise with interest follow ours? Hence the belief in astral influences. The child upon whose cradle Mars has smiled, will be credited with a martial career; the child born under Venus will be under her protection. These are the spontaneous beliefs. Before they can be discredited men must, by a long process, have learned to check this tendency to suppose a direct relation between events which are simply coincident, and must have learned that the course of the stars and the course of human conduct are in no direct relation to each other. But this is a slow process; and until Science has been thus far established, Astrology, and all other superstitions, are unassailable. History proves that no amount of religious reprobation has been able to uproot the belief in, or check the practices of, sorcery.

The early Israelites, in common with all primitive peoples, had their magic, consulted sorcerers, explained dreams, and believed in talismans. In vain Moses proscribed these superstitions. On their return from captivity they brought with them a number of Babylonian sorceries, together with the belief in angels and demons. By a natural process they came to regard certain formulas written on parchment, and containing the names of celestial spirits, as veritable talismans. Like the Egyptians, they believed that, if they summoned demons by their names, these demons were thereby compelled to appear, or to obey orders.

Respecting the gods of other nations, the Jews held two

different opinions. One opinion was that these gods were vain idols; the other that they were agents of Satan; and this was the opinion that finally prevailed. Beelzebub, for example, was originally the god of the Philistines; Astaroth was the lunar goddess of the Phœnicians; Lucifer was a god of the Assyrians; and so on. The early Christians adopted this notion, and attributed all the Pagan miracles to agents of Satan. In their view the ancient polytheism was but an extensive demonology. "Idolatry," says Eusebius, one of the great authorities among the Fathers, "is the adoration, not of good demons, but of bad and perverse demons." The Church became very liberal in its admittance of demons among the agencies of human affairs. Not only did it attribute bad passions and criminal acts to these demons, but it also chose to detect their agency in every form of error and imposture; by which was meant every form of opinion or pretension inconsistent with the opinions and pretensions of the Church. Once grant the existence of these demons, and it is difficult to assign a limit to their agency. And who then questioned their existence? Dwelling in noisome retreats, among the putrid exhalations of rotting graves, they were ready at any moment to issue forth and walk among men, to tempt the saints and delude the sinners. Not only did they tempt men, they sometimes managed to get "possession" of them, entering their bodies, and making them mad. Nay, they entered into houses and pieces of furniture. Exorcisms consequently formed a large proportion of the priestly duties. So late as Pope Sixtus V., the Egyptian obelisk, which was brought to Rome, and now adorns the Piazza del Popolo, was publicly exorcised before it was permitted to stand in a Christian city. There were many formulas of exorcism, but the sign of the cross was naturally considered the most efficacious, and was generally used in addition to all others. Holy water also had great virtues. This continual intervention of exorcism is attested by the great number of conjurations adopted in the liturgy. It was an incessant litany of anathema against Satan. He was described as a perfidious intriguer, a thief, a serpent, a wild beast, a dragon of hell, a Belial, etc.; and in order not to be forced to repeat always this long list of insults, they were engraved on amulets, which hence acquired the virtue of driving Satan away. What wonderful ideas of causation are implied in the conception. Epidemics, meteors, and prodigies of all kinds were attributed to demons. Plagues, tempests, and hailstorms, by one party believed to be visitations of divine wrath, were by another and larger party believed to be the work of malignant demons; and this opinion was held even by so subtle and remarkable a thinker as Thomas

Aquinas. It is to this belief that is due the practice of ringing the Church bells during violent storms—that being the readiest mode of exorcising the demons. Formerly the storm was exorcised by the presentation of the cross, and by sprinkling holy water. As the worst storm comes to an end at last, the exorcism was certain to be successful.

Curious it is to notice what multitudes of Pagan superstitions passed into the ordinary beliefs of the Christians. The Neophytes were unable to disengage their minds from all the associations of childhood, from all the prejudices in which they had been reared. Among these were the belief in, and use of, amulets and enchantments. Even Saint Augustin believed that demons were to be influenced by certain signs, certain stones, certain charms and ceremonies; and if Saint Augustin could believe this, we may imagine that less vigorous intellects would be still more credulous. There was universal belief in the evocation of departed spirits, upon evidence as cogent as modern mediums consider sufficient, and with considerably more excuse. In the ninth century we find the Bishop of Aosta excommunicating serpents, moles, mice, rats, and other beasts, because in these bestial forms the agents of Satan delighted to hide themselves—somewhat stupidly, it would seem, seeing how little fascination these beasts, generally, have for mankind. But the demons were never held to be very wise. Saint Bernard, from the same cause, excommunicated flies, and all the flies in the district shrivelled up at once. In the year 1200, Saint Walthen, of Scotland, proclaimed that the devil assumed the forms of a pig, a bull, a black dog, a wolf, and a rat. The black dog and black cat were generally believed to have some secret understanding with the devil; and if owned by a wise man or a blear-eyed old woman, the evidence was sufficient.

There is abundant evidence to prove that the spirit of Polytheism and its sorceries survived long after the official Polytheism was extinct. Its temples were in ruins, or were converted into churches; its idols were broken, or were rebaptised as saints and angels. Many a temple of Diana or of Venus is now crowded by worshippers of the Madonna, in very much the same spirit, and with not a little of the old forms. The traveller in Italy is constantly being surprised by some living tradition of Polytheism thinly veiled. In every Neapolitan hut may be seen the ancient Lares; only they assume the form of the Virgin, before whose image a lamp is kept for ever burning. Such images are transmitted from generation to generation. They are implored on every occasion, more even than the Saviour. When the supersti-

tious Neapolitan meditates a crime, he covers these images with a veil, to hide the crime from them.

Sometimes the change from Pagan to Christian has been very slight indeed, as in the case of Aidoneus of Epirus, who has been altered into Saint Donatus, and Dea Pelina, who has become Saint Pelino, and Felicitas Publica, who has become Santa Felicita. In festivals meant to please the populace, we expect to find the old traditions of worship, and to find the old divinities under the masks of saints. The festivals of Ceres and Vesta, for example, have been slightly changed in the Neapolitan festival of the Madonna. The persons of the merry-makers are covered with every variety of ornament; the heads of both men and women are crowned with wreaths of flowers and fruits; in their hands they carry garlands and poles, like thyrsi, surmounted with branches of fruits or flowers. On their return homewards, their vehicles are decorated with branches of trees, intermixed with pictures of the Madonna purchased at her shrine, and their horses are gay with ribbons of all hues, and frequently with a plume of snowy feathers on their heads. The whole scene as fully realises the idea of a Bacchanalian procession as if we could now see one emerging from the gates of old Pompeii.

The processions and prayers of priests and augurs for the plantations, vines, and public health, have all been consecrated anew. The sign of the cross, the use of holy water, and the Agnus Dei, have replaced the old exorcisms, charms and talismans. The Hebrew names of God, or the names of the angels, and of Abraham or Solomon, took the places of the names of Pagan deities. If oracles disappeared, the tombs of martyrs and confessors were not silent, and were interrogated with the same credulity as had formerly been shown to the oracles. In vain the Church forbade sorcery and witchcraft; it encouraged many kindred superstitions, and did not destroy the source of all superstition. Paternosters were murmured over wounds, in the perfect belief that Paternosters were curative, and that wounds did not follow any strictly inexorable course. The relics of saints were (and still are) devoutly believed to have a wonder-working power—the same power as was formerly attributed to charms and talismans. The evil spirits who caused the drought, the sickness, or the wrecks, would shrink away in terror at the sight of the relics. And when the Church encouraged such beliefs as this, how could it expect to warn men from believing in chaplets which had the power of arresting bleeding, or in any other superstitions?

To this day the practice of placing a fee for Charon (passage money across the Styx) is not quite unknown. In

some districts the money is placed in the mouth of the corpse. By the inhabitants of the Jura it is placed under the head of the corpse, attached to a little wooden cross. In the Morvan it is placed in the hands of the defunct. The statue of Cybele used annually to be plunged into the sacred bath; she is still publicly dipped, only Cybele has become a saint. In Perpignan they solemnly dip the relics of Saint Gulderic in the waters of the Tet, confident by this ceremony that they shall secure rain. Rain falls, sure enough; and if it sometimes falls too scantily, or too tardily, this is only attributed to meteoric influences by infidels and materialists.

Many are the traces of the past which scholars find in the present. The Lupercalian festivals have become our Lenten carnival—rather a dreary festival, it must be owned! The January offerings have become our New Year's gifts—pleasant enough when they do not assume the shape of dreadfully good "gift-books." The salutation of "God bless you," when you sneeze, is thoroughly classical. No doubt the ingenious device of securing "luck" to a newly-married couple by throwing an old shoe after the departing carriage, is equally ancient, and impresses the philosophic mind with a lively sense of how men imagine the course of nature to be determined. The evil eye is not only very ancient, but seems to be universal. The ancients believed that when any one's ears tingled it was because somebody was talking of him; they believed, also, that it was unlucky to spill the salt.

We have already said that the Church, although appropriating many of the rites and ceremonies of Polytheism, energetically repudiated many others; but in vain. The demons which could not be evoked at the altar, were invoked in secret. Magic was called upon to perform what religion refused. The Church fulminated, and assured men that they perilled their souls by commerce with demons; but it did not discredit the agency of the demons, and its menaces were futile. In vain also was the secular arm employed against those whom the fear of hell could not restrain: the superstition was ineradicable, irresistible. Curiosity, the desire of vengeance, the passion for some secret means of superiority—these motives were stronger than fear, and these motives could only cease to impel men when men ceased to believe in supernatural agency. But against this belief the Church raised no voice. The wisest of men devoutly accepted it. Gregory the Third, in his edict against the use of Magic, especially addresses himself to the clergy as well as to the laity; but his edict is against the *use* of Magic, not against the *belief* in Magic.

Magic, no less than Science, rests on the *explanation* of

phenomena. The only difference is that Magic seeks its explanation in some analogy drawn from human nature, and Science seeks its explanation in some analogy drawn from other phenomena. - No preliminary knowledge is required for the former; man instinctively dramatises the events, and interprets them by such motives as sway his own conduct. For the latter explanation it is necessary that a vast amount of knowledge shall have been accumulated; man must know a great deal about many phenomena before he can detect their laws. Let us see this illustrated in the views held about Dreams.

In Egypt, Assyria, Judæa, and Greece, there was a regular class of dream-interpreters, men who undertook to *explain* what was prefigured by dreams. No one doubted that the phenomena were supernatural. Dreams *came* to a man; they were not suspected to be the action of his brain. We see this belief naively exhibited in Homer, who makes Jupiter summon a dream to his presence as he would summon any other personage. He bids the dream descend to the camp of Agamemnon, and appear before that King of men, to whom he must deliver a most delusive message. The dream departs and repeats the very words of Jove. Nor is this conception wonderful. If you consider dreams, you will notice as one peculiarity that in them the mind is, as it were, separated into two distinct entities which hold converse with each other. We are often astonished at the statements and repartees of our double; we are puzzled by his questions; we are angered or flattered by his remarks—and yet these have been our own creation. It is natural to suppose that we have actually been visited during sleep by one of the spirit world; and until the science of psychology had learned to interpret the phenomena of dreams by the phenomena of waking thought, especially of reverie, this supernatural explanation would prevail.

The same may be said of insanity. It was necessarily regarded as supernatural, until science had shown it to be a disease of the nervous system. The dreadful aspect, the incoherent language and conduct, of mad men, seemed only referable to an evil demon having got "possession" of the man; and this belief was of course strengthened by the general tendency of mad men to attribute their actions to some one urging or forcing them. They fancied themselves pursued by fiends, whom they saw in the lurid light of their own distempered imaginations. But before science could have ascertained even the simplest laws of insanity, what an immense accumulation of knowledge on particular points was necessary! Instead of believing that a mad man is "possessed," we say he is "diseased;" instead of a demon within him to be exorcised, we say there is a functional disturbance in his

nervous system which must be reduced to healthy activity once more. We know as certainly that a disease of this nervous system will produce the phenomena of insanity, as that an inflammation of the mucous membrane will produce a catarrh, or that disease of the lungs will produce consumption. But what vast labours of many generations before it could have been ascertained that the nervous system was specially engaged in all mental phenomena, and that insanity was a disease of this system! It was so much readier an explanation to suppose that a demon had entered the unhappy victim; and, this once suggested, it became a question how best to get rid of the demon. Incantation was an easy resort. Among the means of purification many nations seem to have fancied that "fumigation" must hold a high rank, demons decidedly objecting to evil smells. To this day the Samoyedes and Ostiaks burn a bit of reindeer-skin under the nose of the maniac. The patient falls into a sort of stupefaction from which he often revives considerably calmed, the action of a narcotic on his nervous system being mistaken for an action of evil odours on the olfactories of the demon. The old superstition of hanging odoriferous plants over the door of the house of one "possessed" points to the same belief that odours drive away demons.

In this rapid survey of a wide subject we hope the reader has been able to see that Magic, which was the Science of the ancients—and the only science they could have for a long while—is wilful nescience in moderns who have ample means at hand for ascertaining the fundamental fact that the *order* of nature is not capricious, but constant, and is not to be altered by incantations, even by those powerful incantations which still take place in some Western drawing-rooms, somewhat darkened. The ancient thaumaturge was to a great extent his own dupe; if he did practise certain tricks, he had profound belief that there *was* an art to which he pretended. But the modern thaumaturge is generally an impostor; and those who believe in him and his miracles, ought to be consistent, and believe in all the grossest superstitions of the early ages. For if the order of nature is *not* constant, as we suppose, there is no assignable limit to the power of Magic.

J. NEWMAN.

ART. X.—A TRAVANCORE STATE CEREMONY.

THERE are few State ceremonies in Southern India which are conducted with such *eclat*, or whose observance, occasionally lasting for days, is attended with such lengthy and elaborate ceremonial, and withal involves such vast and lavish expenditure on the part of the *Sirkar*, as is the grand sexennial religious feast, known as the *Murajapom*, the celebration of which has recently closed at the capital of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore. *Murajapom* (*mura* = turn and *japom* = prayers) is the praying by turns of the many hundreds of Nambudri devotees who generally gather at Trivandrum at this season, and repeat prayers and chant the Vedas in the grand Sri Padmanabha's Pagoda there from six to ten in the morning and from eight in the evening. A chief feature of the ceremony is the chanting of Vedic hymns. Hymns or invocations are recited in serial order (a whole Canto daily) from the Rig, Sama, and Yajur Vedas, it taking eight days in all for the completion of a cycle or "turn." Seven such "turns" conclude the ceremony, which occupies fifty-six days, attracts the whole Nambudri and Embran population of the surrounding country and costs the State over ten lakhs of rupees.

The first *Murajapom* was celebrated in 1749 A. D. by the soldier-king Martanda Varma. He was a warrior of mark and a born administrator, who welded the Travancore State into a united sovereignty, put down disaffection by the sword, and brought the refractory chieftains under the yoke of his absolute authority. Prior to 1729 A. D.—the date of his accession—the princesses appear to have exercised authority themselves, with the result that the country was convulsed by intestine feuds and came to be split up into a score of petty chiefships, all of which claimed independence. About this period, too, the power of the *Ettu Vittil Pillamar*—originally collectors of the temple revenue, but latterly powerful barons with separate territorial and *quasi* independent jurisdiction—had attained its high water mark; and these implacable and inveterate foes of the royal house, who, like Achiophel, were resolved to ruin and plunder the state, aggravated by their excesses the general confusion and misgovernment. With the petty chiefs, or *Madempimars*, and the authoritative ecclesiastical council of "the eight and a half" (*Ettara yogakar*)—in which the sovereign or "half member" had no vote—they had united themselves into a strong combination; and the confederates usurped and monopolized all authority.

Their Machiavellian counsels and secret designs culminated in a series of horrors in 1677 A.D. On a certain night, the royal palace at Trivandrum was burnt down by incendiaries; the Maharaja himself soon after was removed by poison; and the young princes, six in number, after being decoyed to a tank south of the Trivandrum fort, were suffocated under water by hired assassins. A similar fate awaited the soldier-poet, Kerala Varma, who befriended the helpless Queen Regent, Umayamma Rane, in 1680 A.D., when a Mogul Sirdar overran South Travancore and penetrated as far as Edavaye.

In the hour of need and Travancore's greatest agony—when, for the first time in history, the Crescent waved before Trivandrum, and the city had all but fallen before the conquering sword of the Muslim, Kerala Varma was foremost in repelling the invader and was mainly instrumental in overturning his victorious arms. The accomplished prince and brilliant soldier who signalised himself in the action at Manacand and nearly annihilated the Mogul troops on that field of blood, fell soon after mysteriously by the hand of the assassin. The Travancore house was, however, saved from extinction by the adoption in 1684 A.D. of two princesses from the Kolathanad family, the younger of whom gave birth to one of the most remarkable—perhaps, the most interesting—of Travancore Maharajas, Martanda Varma. Under his strong and remorseless rule, the broken up and disorganised Travancore dominions were knit together into a compact and homogeneous whole; the race of fierce and turbulent chieftains known as the *Ettu Vittal Pillamar* was extirpated; and the rival houses of Kottayam, Kayanculam and Chunganacherry were reduced to subjection and their territories annexed to Travancore.

Martanda was endowed with that mysterious instinct which impels men to great enterprises and makes for sovereignty, and an imperious will which blinds them to the possibility of defeat and baffles all opposition: so, in the words of Fra Bartolomeo,* “it needs excite no wonder, that agreeably to his character he should conceive the idea of making conquests, and of enlarging his unproductive dominions by the acquisition of new provinces.” He effected this mainly by the aid of a formidable body of disciplined troops, numbering 50,000 of all arms, drilled and equipped in the European fashion and led by European officers—soldiers of fortune who came out in quest of adventure and found an opening in the Maharaja's service—among others, by a Flemish General of note, Eustatius D' Lanoy.

*Fra Paolino da San Bartolomeo: *A Voyage to the East Indies*, first published at Rome in 1796.

D' Lanoy—or the “Great Captain” (*Valia Kappithan*); as the Travancoreans called him,—constructed the strong lines of fortification, consisting of a ditch, earthworks and batteries, on the north-eastern frontier, known as the Travancore* lines; wrested in 1755 A. D., in conjunction with Moodemialh and the Poligar Pulithaver, the fort of Kalacand and the territories appertaining thereto from Maphuz Khan, brother to Mahomed Ali of the Carnatic, after the recall of the British troops to Trichinopoly; and gained a variety of successes against the Dutch, the Zamorin, and the Cochin Rajah. The Travancore dominions attained their widest bounds about 1758 A. D.—the date of Vira Martanda's death—when they extended from Cranganore to Cape Comorin, the Dan and the Beersheba of the kingdom.

The *Murajapom* is essentially a ceremony of atonement and humiliation. After the Kanravas who were engaged in Homeric contests with the hapless Pandavas were finally defeated in battle, the noble Yudhisthira, instead of exulting in his victory and glorying over his accession to the Raj of Hastinapur, is represented in the immortal epic as being not only worn with war and strife, but also weighed down with heavy grief for the loss of his friends and kinsmen—who, like good Kshatriyas, having drunk delight of battle to the lees on the ringing plains of Kuru-Kshetra, had now entered the heaven of Indra. If, like his Burmese contemporary, Alompra, or the Napoleon of the East, Ranjit Singh, Maharaja Martanda Varma had in him the stuff of which conquerors are made, he was also, like the Mameluke King, Nazir-ud-din, intensely pious and austere in his daily life, and in his latter years, almost a religious devotee in the purple. So, after the subjection of the rival chieftains and the ruthless extirpation of the *Ettu Vittil Pillamar*, he, Yudhisthira-wise, began to reflect on the wickedness and iniquity of war, and the losses and sufferings he had brought on many a brave man. Fearing, in accordance with the popular Hindu belief and the principles enjoined by the doctors of Brahmanic theology, that, in the next world, some dreadful punishment would befall him for his sins, he convened an assemblage of holy Brahmans, learned in the Vedas, from Malabar, Tinnevely and Madura. The king desired them to consult the Vedas and find out therefrom the most effective form of prayer to be adopted for expiating the sin incurred by war, and for averting the wrath of Yama's dread myrmidons in the world of shades; and the Brahmans recommended the *Bhadradipam* and *Murajapom* ceremonies.

*These are equal in extent to the famous lines of Torres Vedras, erected by the Duke of Wellington for the defence of Lisbon in 1810, and from behind which with a small force, he defied the French legions led by Marshal Massena. See “Stocqueler's Familiar History of British India,” page 126.

No description of the *Murajapom* would be complete that did not extend from seven days before the *Bhadradipam* to the *Lakshadipam* illuminations which conclude the whole celebration. These ceremonies consist in the lighting of a sacred lamp on the 1st of *Makaram* (January-February); after seven days' prayers and offerings, this is repeated on the 1st *Karkadagam* (about July), the ceremony being performed twice annually for five consecutive years. In the sixth year, you have the grand ceremony of *Murajapom*, which begins towards the end of November and lasts for eight weeks. The last week of the *Murajapom* always corresponds with the *Bhadradipam* which is sacred to Vishnu, and is conducted at Thiruvettar, Sucheendram, Tinnevely, and certain pagodas in Northern India. With the *Lakshadipam*, or the lighting of one hundred thousand lamps, the *Murajapom* festivities are brought to a close. These illuminations, which form indeed a part of *Bhadradipam* and are quite unconnected with *Murajapom* proper, are intended as a token to mark the good results which are supposed to accrue immediately from the great periodical celebration.

The *Murajapom*, then, is a unique old-world ceremony of prayer and devotion, having remission of sin for its object, instituted by a great but penitent Maharaja, whose strong personality dominated the critical epoch in which he lived, and rendered the perils and predicaments which beset his path innocuous—a Maharaja whose character and times mostly resembled those of Henry the Second. The first Angevin, King of England, evolved order out of anarchy. He augmented his territories, conquered Ireland, and established a national militia. He freed the country from the throes of feudal tyranny which marked Stephen's reign, put down the wild barons and warlike knights who roamed and revelled and ran riot in "adulterine" castles; and he anticipated, so to speak, Maharaja Martanda Varma by doing penance at the tomb of Thomas à Becket. "Much pain must expiate what much pain procured," and Martanda, amongst other things, held the first *Murajapom* no less as an expression of his penitance than as a means of increasing the prosperity of the state.

The ceremony partakes of the nature of a *yagam*, or sacrifice. In addition to the chanting of the Vedas—an essential feature of the ceremony which comes before and above every rite or festivity connected with it—it is customary, every afternoon, to repeat the *sahasranama*, to procure the favour of the god Sree Padamanabha. At eventide, with the conch sounding the call to *Sandhya-vandanam*,* the Nambu-

* Evening prayers.

dries, standing breast-deep in holy water, pray for the destruction of the enemies of the Maharaja, who himself now enters the sacred precincts. In company with the other princes, his ministers and attendants, he worships the deity with closed hands, and in the dim religious light of the pagoda, takes his devotional turn round the pool *Palma-thirtha*. Not content with the establishment of the *Murajapom*, Martanda had recourse to an expedient for the consecration of the kingdom and for the safety of his ancient house. Early in 1750 A. D., accompanied by the heir-apparent, and the other members of the royal family, and by the *Dalavah* Rama Iyen, he proceeded one morning to the great pagoda at Trevandrum, and before the assembled priests and *yogakars* laid his State sword at the feet of the deity, and in the most solemn manner made over his crown and kingdom to Sree Padmanabha, in much the same way as King John surrendered his kingdom to the Pope and received it back from him as his vassal. Martanda assumed the title of "*Sree Padmanabha Dasa*" (a title borne by the Maharajas of Travancore to this day), declaring that henceforth he was the servant of the deity and would conduct the affairs of the kingdom as a trustee of the *Devaswam*, or State Ecclesiastical Department.

In the following year, Martanda celebrated the *hiranyagarbham* (literally, "golden womb")—a religious coronation ceremony the performance of which is imperative on the part of every sovereign of Travancore—the other ceremony of *Tulabharam*, or "scale-weighing," having been performed by him two years before. The former ceremony has partly for its object the elevation of the celebrator in caste or rank, and its performance alone can render a prince eligible to wear the crown of Travancore. The Maharaja is weighed in a scale against his weight of gold. This is made into a hollow vessel or tub which is half filled with holy water and *panchagavya*—the five products of the cow—"into which the Maharaja enters, is covered in with the lid, bathes, and comes out again." The *Tulabharam* is primarily a religious donation as atonement for sin, or as a deed of merit. It is the more expensive ceremony and requires a large quantity of gold, corresponding with the weight of the prince. The Maharaja is seated in one of the scales and gold is poured into the other till it rests on the ground, and the other scale rises aloft. Half of the gold is distributed as a reward among the priests, the other half is taken to the Mint and coined into special coins. Every Brahmin receives a certain number of these coins, large sums of money, moreover, being given away as donations to several pagodas and to attendant Brahmins. It has long been the recognized and invariable

practice with the princes of Travancore, as soon as possible after their succession to the *gadi*, to perform these ceremonies; and since the time of Martanda Varma every sovereign appears to have performed them, with the exception of the two who were excluded, by reason of their sex, from their performance.

These extraordinary ceremonies are usually celebrated only once in the lifetime of each Maharaja, although Martanda's successor, Rama Varma—who reigned forty years, was a contemporary of George III. and was Tippu Sultan's enemy—performed a golden *Tulabharam* in the beginning and a silver *Tulabharam* at about the end of his long reign. The quantity of gold used to weigh the Maharaja in the latter ceremony—an essential condition of it being the donation of a human figure of equal weight with the donor—cost about £12,000, the whole ascertained expense for the ceremony of 1870 having been Rs. 1,55,427. The weight of gold used in the scale on this occasion was 7934·80 tolas approximately, or 18,150 *kalanjus* 19 *manchaties*, as against 22,924 *kalanjus* 3 *manchaties* used for the *Tulabharam* of 1850. (1 *kalanju* = 7865 grains, or about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a tola, and 1 *manchati* = about 3'979 grains).

The preparatory rites of the *Tulabharam* extend over eight days, the weighing being on the eighth or last day. "The *Acharyah** (high priest) makes a puja early in the morning to the Tulapurusha Pratima, after which the Maharaja goes to the pagoda, bathed and religiously attired. After worshiping and making offerings, he proceeds to the Tulamandapam, where, in the south-east corner, he is sprinkled with *Punyaham* (holy) water. Thence he goes to the side-room, where the "nine grains" are sown in silver flower pots, and where the *Acharyah* anoints him with nine fresh water *kolasas*. Thence the Maharaja retires to the palace, changes clothes, puts on certain olden jewels specially made for the occasion and, holding the state sword in his right hand and the State shield of black leopard's skin and scimitar in his left, proceeds to the pagoda, and, having presented a bull elephant at the foot of the great golden flagstaff, and silks, gold coins, jewels and other rich offerings in the interior, he walks round by the Sivaimandapam and re-enters the Tulamandapam. He walks thrice round the scales, prostrates before it, prays, performs certain preliminary donations, bows before the priests, and elderly relatives and obtains their sanction to perform the Tulapurushadanam. He then mounts the western scale, holding Yama's † and Surya's Pratimas in his right and left

* Pamphlet by "A Travancorean," 1870.

† Yama is the Pluto, and Surya, the sun-god of Hindu mythology. *Pratimas* are effigies.

hands respectively. He sits facing the east on a circular heavy plank cut out of fresh jackwood and covered with silk. The sword and shield are placed in the lap. He repeats *mantras* in this position. The opposite or eastern scale then receives the gold, both coined and in ingots, till it not only attains equality, but touches the ground, and the scale occupied by the Maharaja rises high. The Maharaja then comes down, and sitting facing the east, places the gold, the Tulapurusha Pratima and other *Pratimas*, with flowers, sandal paste, &c., in a basin of water, and meditating *Brahma* or Supreme Being, he offers the contents to Brahmins generically."

One of the sixteen great donations (*shodasa-maha-danams*) enjoined in Sanskrit works is the other ceremony of *Hiranyagarbham*, the performance of which is indispensable and can alone enable the Maharaja to assume the crown and bear the title of "Kulasekhara Perumal." This, according to the requirements of religion and the custom of the country—or, it may be, urged by the pressure of caste necessity—he cannot do, till he is re-born by passing through the womb of a golden cow, or bathes in a golden lotus. Hence, as a prelude to the ceremony of coronation, the Maharaja enters and sits for a few minutes within the belly of a cow or the corolla of a lotus flower, made of pure gold, and issues therefrom advanced in caste purity and restored to the privileges of the "twice-born"—the ceremony being termed *Hiranyagarbham* or *padma garbham*, according as the vessel employed is made in the shape of a cow or of a lotus flower. "The king, after performing his devotions, approaches the place where the vessel is kept, accompanied by all the high priests, Brahmins of note and learning in Malabar, Tinnevely, Madura, Canara, etc., and gets into the golden vessel by means of a beautifully lined ladder, expressly made for the purpose. When His Highness enters it, the cover is put on and he dips himself into the holy water five times, while all the assembled priests and Brahmins continue praying and chanting Vedic hymns. This ceremony lasts about ten minutes, after which the king comes out of the vessel by the same ladder, and after going through certain other ceremonies prostrates himself before the image of Sree Padmanabha Swamy, when the high priest, who is the chief celebrant of the ceremonies, and who acts the part of a bishop, takes the crown, and placing it on the king's head pronounces the title 'Kulasekhara Perumal.'" The Maharaja now has full authorization to reign over his subjects and the place resounds with Vedic hymns and prayers. The golden vessel or tub is cut up and distributed amongst Brahmins. This ceremony costs the *Sirkar** about £14,000.

* Pers. The word means Government.

Regarding the real nature and significance of the *hiranya garbham* ceremony, there has been much doubt and controversy. Day, Mateer, Anquetil du Perron and others are of opinion that its object is the regeneration of the Sudra king. According to the first-named writer, "the Rajahs of Travancore are always manufactured into Brahmins on ascending the *musnad*, an important part in the transmigration being sometimes played by a golden cow, at the mouth of which the Rajah enters a Sudra, and, having crawled along its interior arrangements, emerges under the animal's tail as one of the twice-born." *Land of the Perumals*, 1863 Edn., page 314). The social effect of the ceremony is also striking. "The Maharaja* ceases to partake of food, as formerly, along with the members of his family, but is yet not allowed to eat with Brahmins, only admitted to be present at their meals." On the other hand, the idea that the *hiranya garbham* advances the celebrator in caste or rank, the Historian† of Travancore repudiates as ridiculous. But whether we adopt the Rev. Mateer's view that the Travancore house, although of Nair or Sudra descent, has, by extreme subservience to the Brahmins to the extent of devoting the whole country to religious service, and by extravagant donations and costly ceremonies, been requited with sundry Bramanical privileges and distinctions; or that of Mr. Shungoony Menon, that the Travancore prince stands in no way in need of performing any ceremony to raise him either in caste or dignity, there can be little doubt that the ceremony has been repeatedly performed by others for similar purposes. Not many years ago, "the illegitimate‡ son of a Collector by a Moor-woman was privately raised to the Brahmanical order, the child's weight in gold poured over its head being the preliminary ceremony." Rughunath Rao, or as his name appears in the English records of the eighteenth century, Ragoba—who became uncontrolled Regent at Poona during the minority of his nephew, Madhu Rao I, and who later on held the proud Presidentship of the United States of Maharashtra—when down in his luck and a fugitive and suppliant at the British Presidency of Bombay, in consequence of the revolution of 1774, passed through a golden cow in hopes of better fortune; and two Brahmins whom he sent as ambassadors to England were, on their return, before being admitted to caste, compelled to pass through the sacred *yoni* §, made of the finest gold, which, with other costly gifts, was

* S. Mateer. *Native Life in Travancore*. p. 390.

† P. Shungoomy Menon: *A History of Travancore from the earliest times*. Madras, 1878.

‡ Taylor's *First Century*, p. 363.

§ = Womb.

afterwards made over to one of the temples.* The Tanjore Rajah also appears to have performed this ceremony.†

The first *Murajapom* was held a century and a half ago, the one last held being the twenty-fifth of its kind. The festival usually commences towards the end of November. During the whole festival season, that is until its close in mid-January, all Trevandrum and his wife goes holiday-making, there is revelry in the air, and the fort and city alike wear a brisk and busy aspect, and are full of the sights and sounds of the great celebration. Turn where you will, you see newly-improvised *Murajapom* sheds and temporary structures. Everywhere are gathered groups of Nambudri young men, light-hearted and gay, and on practical jokes intent, and never tired of poking fun at their less pampered *confreres*, the Patter Brahmins. Vast and inexhaustible are the stores collected to carry the *Murajapom* through. Wells of cocoanut oil, pyramids of vegetables, forests of bananas, mountains of molasses, and rivers of curd, ghee, preserves, plantains, *et hoc genus omne*, are gathered and stored up with a liberality or rather profusion that has acquired for the State the epithet of *Dharma Samastanum* or "Land of Charity."

Until lately, it was the duty of the large body of *viruttikars*, or service land-holders, to supply the provisions necessary for the ceremony; but this practice, which wrought untold misery on them, has now been happily done away with. The *viruttikars* had *Sirkar* lands (*viruthies*) given them, free of all assessment, except a succession duty (*Adukkuvathu*) payable on every change of incumbency; and in return, they were bound to make the necessary supplies "for pagodas, *Ootooperahs* ‡ and for the royal birthday, to erect sheds, to thatch public buildings, to watch them in some places, and to do peon's duty occasionally."§ This service tenure is of a very ancient date, most of the fiefs having been conferred on the original holders by former chieftains, as remuneration for personal service rendered, or on condition of such service when demanded, in much the same way as *jaghires* were bestowed in lieu of salaries on governors and favourites by the Mughal emperors. The primary obligation of military service, from long abeyance, came in course of time to be lost sight of, and eventually became converted into a permanent contract with Government to supply provisions for State needs; and though prices steadily rose in the market, yet no relief was afforded to the *viruttikars*, with the result that they gradually sank under the weight of

* See Day, Maseer, &c.

† *Manual of Madura*, p. III.

‡ Charitable feeding houses.

§ *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 358.

their obligation and became reduced to poverty. In March 1883, the Dewan Ramienger declared that "about 5,000 families, consisting of 25,000 souls, are directly subject to the operation of this system; that the full assessment of the lands held by them on favourable rent amounts in round numbers to Rs. 2,00,000, and that the amount of the loans of money to them or their ancestors in satisfaction of the interest on which service is rendered, amounts to a further sum of Rs. 2,00,000. In process of time, the obligation has become extremely onerous and oppressive, and the source of much abuse and demoralization. Prices of provisions and wages of labour have risen at least three or four times since M. E. 948 (1773 A. D.), when the contract was entered into. Still, the *Vrittikars* are bound to supply provisions at the rates fixed in that year."

No doubt, the evils and annoyances of the *viruthi* system have now been happily, to a great extent, removed; but recent rearrangements, which have substituted money payments for the old service, have swelled the expenses of the ceremony two or three fold, and thrown on the state coffers a burden which formerly certain private families had to bear. Thus, in the Administration Report for M. E. 1063 (A.D. 1887-88), we read that, as in the case of pagodas and *ootooperahs*, the supplies needed for the *Murajapom* "were paid for at the market rates, affording great relief to the *vritticars*." Again, the higher prices of the supplies required, and the larger number of visitors in connection with the ceremony have contributed to raise this expenditure (under "Devaswam," or religious institutions) above the amount estimated in the budget. The supplies were either purchased in the open market, or, when obtained from the *vritticars*, were paid for at higher rates than they usually get from the *Sirhar* for such supplies. The expenditure on account of the *Murajapom* that year—leaving alone the amount expended on certain special ceremonies in the Trevandrum temple, and the increased charge on feeding-houses, due to the influx of Brahmin visitors at the capital—is officially reckoned at Rs. 2,17,391. This certainly shows no marked increase of expenditure, seeing that the outlay on the first *Murajapom* was over two lakhs of rupees, in accordance with the fixed scheme of State expenditure (*pathivu kanaku*) then introduced by the celebrated statesman and prince of *Dalavahs*,* Rama Iyen. In quite recent years, however, it would appear that the *Murajapom* expenses have gone up by leaps and bounds.

Great numbers of Nambudries and other Brahmins (excepting the Pandies) assist at the *Murajapom*, and while it lasts, are fed and maintained without distinction. Prayers

* Captain, Minister of State. Kesava Dass thought the title antiquated and was the first to assume the title of "Dewan."

are periodically chanted in the grand Sri Padmanabha's Pagoda, and the Vedas recited daily by certain learned Nambudries, whose hereditary privilege it is to officiate on such occasions. Nambudri dignitaries from Trichur, Thiruvayalpur and other parts of *Kerala*,* including the Alvancherry Thamprakkal, are invited by the Maharaja to take part in the ceremony, and the arrival and welcoming of these ecclesiastical grandees heralds the opening festivities of the *Murajapom*. These Nambudries are, in a word, the Brahmins *par excellence* of Malabar. They are admittedly Vedic Brahmins of the purest Aryan type in Southern India. The renowned polemic and apostle of Vedantism, Sankaracharya,† belonged to this community. There is no section of the Hindu community which is so generally regarded with veneration and honour as are the Nambudripads and Nambudries in Malabar. And perhaps not a few of them are noted for the purity and the simplicity of their lives,—are great repositories of Vedic lore and men of marked wit and considerable Sanskrit learning.

The latest panegyrist‡ of the Nambudries thus describes them:—"Unlike the Brahmins of the remainder of the Presidency who so largely absorb all appointments under Government worth having, who engage in trade, and in, one may say, every profitable profession and business, including the stage, the Nambudries hold almost entirely aloof from what the poet Gray calls: 'The busy world's ignoble strife,' and more than any class of Brahmins retain their sacerdotal position, which is of course the highest. . . . They are the aristocracy of the land, marked most impressively by two characteristics—exclusiveness and simplicity. . . . He is, perhaps, as his measures seem to prove, the truest Aryan in Southern India, and not only physically, but in his customs, habits, ceremonies, which are so welded into him that forsake them he cannot if he would. . . . The moral element certainly enters largely into the life of the Nambudri. And, if it be true, as there seems little reason to doubt, that a religion may be classed high or low according as it does or does not influence the morals of a people, we must class the religion of the Nambudri high, for his whole life, his moral life we will say, is dominated by it. A peace-loving people, and devoted to their religion, the

* The ancient name for the modern "district" of Malabar.

† The Great Saiva Reformer and author of the *Bhashyas*, who flourished in the eighth or ninth century A.D.

‡ Fred. Fawcett. See Madras Government Museum Bulletin Series; Vol. III, No. 1, Anthropology. Notes on some of the people of Malabar, &c., 1900.

Nambudries are beyond doubt. Long may they remain as they are, untouched by what we hear called 'progress,' but which is really *change*—for better or worse, who knows? 'Long may they be what they are, the only undisturbed vestiges of Vedic Brahmanism.'

The Alvancherry Thamprakal, whose seat is at Adavanad in South Malabar, is not only the supreme head among the Nambudries in matters religious, but also the chief preceptor to the Travancore royal house. The ancestor of the present Thampurakal whom Dr. Francis Buchanan visited at the dawn of the last century, traced his descent in the male line from the founder of the family, who derived his authority from Parasurama,* after the demigod had, in expiation of a matricidal crime, recovered Malabar from the ocean and left it as a heritage to the Brahmins. The Thampurakal, who was the contemporary of Sankaracharya, was far from acknowledging the superiority of the great Vedantist: he not only repudiated as innovations, the sixty-four *anacharans*, or exceptions to established rules, ordained by the latter for the purpose of regulating the discipline of his co-religionists, but also excommunicated him as a heretic. The Thampurakals consider themselves as much higher in dignity than the Sringagiri Swami, † who is the successor of Sankar Acharya and chief of the Smartal Brahmins. The last week of the *Murajapom* season differs from the rest, seeing that during this period all Brahmins, including the Pandies, are fed, over 10,000 men having been thus fed daily this year. Besides being fed well during the whole *Murajapom*, the Brahmins are dismissed with handsome money presents, according to the class they belong to—Nambudries receiving 5 fanams each, Embrans 4, and other Brahmins 2. A Brahmin who attends the *Murajapom* thus realizes in all a sum of Rs. 40. The last week of the *Murajapom* again always corresponds with the *Bhadradiyam* or "Lamp of Good Fortune," which is one of the principal religious ceremonies in which the Maharaja himself takes a principal part. It is a kind of sun worship, "like the Pongal of the Tamils, ‡ which occurs at the same time, and in which offerings of boiled rice are made to the sun. It is performed at the two *ayanas*, or solstices of the year, calculated by the Hindus as occurring about the 12th January and 14th July. The *Bhadradiyam* chiefly consists in the priests transferring, by means of *mantrams* or invocations, the spirit of the sun to sacred lamps." A *siveli* or circumambula-

*Rama of the Axu, the sixth incarnation of Vishnu.

† Sringeri or Sringiri is the name of a famous *Math*, or Convent, on the Western Ghats near the sources of the Tungabadra.

‡ Native Life in Travancore, p. 131.

tion of the temple with the images is made the evening preceding the *Bhadradiyam*. At these times, the Maharaja is secluded and fasting, and does not see European visitors.

The chief feature of the *Murajapom* is its enormous expense. Otherwise, there is little that is striking or admirable in connexion with this cumbrous old ceremony. Vast sums of money are also expended every year by the Travancore *darbar* on the *ootoopeerahs*, or charitable feeding-houses, and the *Devaswom*, or State Ecclesiastical Department. Of the former, there are about 45, including *conjee*-houses, the chief one (known as the *Agrasala*) being at Trevandrum. The *conjee*-houses dole out some 460,000 meals annually, costing the *Sirkar* about Rs. 7,000. In about half the number of wayside *ootoopeerahs** breakfast alone is provided; in a few supper alone; while in the others both meals are provided, but only to Brahmin travellers. The total number of meals served by the *ootoopeerahs*, and the *Agrasala*, is said to be about 3,000 per diem, or 10,50,000 annually. The greatest pagoda in the State is the one named after Sree Padmanabha Swami, situated in the Trivandrum fort. This pagoda has a government of its own, unconnected with the State—the sovereign, two Nambudri *Sanyasis*†, ten Pótti Brahmins and one Nair nobleman constituting its governing body. The supervision and management of the temple is vested in the hands of the reigning prince. The revenue derived from the lands attached to this pagoda amounts to Rs. 75,000; and this goes towards defraying the daily expenses of the institution. The surplus, if any, is credited to the public treasury and any deficit made good from it. The extra expenditure incurred in connection with the pagoda out of the State coffers is on account of certain extraordinary festivals, which absorb large sums of money. The temples maintained by the State number in all over a thousand, the charges under *ootoopeerahs* and the *Devaswom* yearly amounting to nearly 10 lakhs. True, the expenditure on temples has been mainly provided for by ancient endowments; but the indiscriminate feeding of Brahmins from State funds is an undue advantage lavished on a single and microscopical section of the community, at the expense of the other classes. There is, indeed, no parallel in Native India to the immense expenditure incurred on Brahmins and temples in the "Land of Charity;" but how far such expenditure is prudent, beneficial, or equitable, is another matter.

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

* The *ootoopeerahs*, or free inns for Brahmins, were instituted by Rama Iyen Dalavah, who was the favourite minister of Maharaja Martanda Varma, and the friend and co-adjutor of General D' Lanoy.

† The last of the four conditions of life prescribed for a Brahmin is that of a *Sanyasi* or Ascetic.

ART. XI.—STUDIES IN ARABIAN PHILOSOPHY.

I.

THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

The Third of the Metaphysical Tracts of the *Brothers of Purity and the Friends of Sincerity*.

THE *Rasā'ilu Ikhwān-us-Safā*, though comparatively little known in India, has in recent times engaged the attentions of European scholars. By the generality of the Arabic students of the Madrasahs of India, it is regarded only as a work on *Munāẓarah*.* Although through its Urdu and Persian translations its name has been rendered familiar, only an unimportant portion of it (which is wrongly supposed to be the entire book) has been prescribed as a text-book in literature for the lower classes of Madrasahs. Nevertheless it is a book worthy of the serious attention and study of the advanced scholar. There is a general ignorance as to the contents of the book and the wide range of subjects over which it extends, and few know that the 'Allegorical Controversy between Man and the Lower Animals,' between Reason and Instinct, is only one of the 51 tracts of which the book consists. While some are entirely ignorant of the existence of other tracts bearing the name of *Rasā'ilu Ikhwān-us-Safā*, others, from what they have seen or heard of the tract already named, regard the rest as of a similar controversial nature.

Before I give an account of its scope and method, I think I should examine the data for the determination of its authorship, and the date of its composition, as to both of which scholars are divided.

Muhammad Ali Rāmpūrī ascribes the authorship to Syed Ahmad b. Abdullah on the authority of Idrīs Imāduddin, author of the *A'yān-ul-Akhhār* (عيون الاخبار) the authenticity of which, he says, cannot be questioned. He altogether rejects other suppositions; for "none could be the author of such an admirable work, but a descendant of the learned apostolic Imām Jāafer-as-Sādiq, 'the founder of the chief philosophical schools in Islam.†'"

* "This is a sort of writing in the form of a dialogue in which two persons are imagined disputing with each other on the merits and demerits of two different things, each trying to give preference to his own chosen object." *Essay on the Arabic Language and Literature* by Maulavī Obaidullah al-Obaidi Sohraworthy, p. 223.

† *Rasā'il-o-Ikhwān-us Safā* published in 4 vols. at Bombay in 1305 A. H. by Hājī Nuruddin, vol. iv, p. 409.

'It was compiled,' says Muhammad Bahâuddîn, 'by Maulanâ Ahmad b. Abdullah, but according to others by a number of the leading scholars of the second or fourth century A. H.'*

In Mirzâ Muhammad Shirâzi's edition of the *Tarjama-i-Ikhwân-us-Safâ*, an abstract of the 51 tracts translated into Persian in the reign of Timoor, the following account, quoted from the *Riyâz-ul-Jinân* by Mulla Ashraf b. Abdul Wali Ismâili, is given:—The book was written by Syed Ahmad b. Abdullah b. Muhammad *al-Maktoom* b. Ismail †, son of the apostolical Imâm Jâafer-as-Sâdiq. On account of the persecutions to which the descendants of the Prophet were subjected, Syed Ahmad, whose son, Obaidullah *al-Mahdi* ‡, became the founder of the Fatimide Caliphate in Africa, lived in humble retirement. He passed his days disguised as a merchant sometimes in Kûfa, sometimes in Salmiyéh, and sometimes in *Surra-man-râa*. In the reign of the Angustan son of Haroon, when the study of Greek philosophy had engaged the attention of the learned, Syed Ahmad wrote the 51 treatises and sent them as an anonymous present to the Caliph, and the Caliph learnt from their perusal that the world was not free from 'the Philosophers of the House of Muhammad.' He wrote a *résumé* of the 51 tracts and called it (الجامعة) *al-Jâmi-éh*, or the *Compendium*, and another work of his he styled the *Jâmi-at-ul-Jâmi-éh* (جامعة الجامع), the *Compendium of the Compendium*.

The *Rasâil-o-Ikhwân-us-Safâ*, says Hajee Khalfa, in his *Bibliographical Dictionary*, were dictated by Abu Sulaimân Muhammad b. Nasr-al-Busti, better known as *al-Mokaddasî*, Abûl Hasan Ali b. Hâroon az-Zanjânî, Abu Ahmad an-Nahrejauri, al-Aufi, and Zaid b. Rifâ-ah. They were philosophers who met together and by their joint labour produced 51 tracts. §

'The author,' says Mr. T. T. Thomason, 'is not known.'

* *Rasâil o Ikhwân-us-Safâ*, p. 411.

القد الامام الهمام . . . مولانا احمد بن عبد الله رح وقيل الفة جملة من صدر الصدور الاول في القرن الثاني وقيل في القرن الرابع بعد الهجرة -

† The 7th Imâm of the *Ismâiliâs*.

‡ Ibn Khaldoon and Makrizi mention two different names (Jâafer *al-Musaddak* and Muhammad *al-Habib*) for Syed Ahmad and Abdullah, in Obaidullâh's Genealogy.

§ رسائل اخوان الصفاء املاها ابو سليمان محمد بن نصر البستي المعروف بالقدسسي و ابو الحسن علي بن هارون الزنجاني و ابو احمد النهرجوري و العوفي و زيد بن رفاعه كلهم حكماء اجتمعوا و منقوا احدي وخمسين رسالة -

Kashf us-Zunoon, vol. iii, (ed. Fluegel).

From these conflicting accounts all that I can infer with tolerable certainty is that there was a 'Society of the Brothers of Purity,' and that these tracts are the results of their labours; and it is quite probable that Syed Ahmad b. Abdullah, to whom exclusively the authorship is attributed by not less than three authorities, was also a member of this Society and had a large share in the composition of these tracts.

"It was at this epoch † of travail and sorrow for all lovers of truth that a small body of thinkers formed themselves into a Brotherhood to keep alive the lamp of knowledge among Muslims, to introduce a more healthy tone among the oppressed and arrest the downward course of the Islamists and fanaticism; in fact, to save the utter ruin. They called themselves

the 'Brothers of Purity,' *Ikhwân-us-Safâ*. The society of the 'Pure Brethren' was established in Bussorah, which still held rank in the fast-dwindling Caliphate as the second city of the empire, the home of rationalism and intellectual activity. To this 'Brotherhood' none but men of unsullied character and the purest morals were admitted; the passport for admission into the select circle was devotion to the cause of knowledge and humanity. There was nothing exclusive or esoteric in their spirit; though, from the necessities of their situation, and working under a rigid theological and political despotism, their movements were enshrouded in some mystery. They met together quietly and unobtrusively in the residence of the head of the society, who bore the name of Zaid, the son of Rifâa, and discussed philosophical and ethical subjects with a catholicity of spirit and breadth of view that are difficult to rival even in modern times. They formed branches in every city of the Caliphate, wherever, in fact, they could find a body of thoughtful men, willing and qualified to work according to their scientific method.* This philanthropic-scientific movement was led by five men, who, with Zaid, were the life and soul of the 'Brotherhood.' Their system was eclectical in the highest and truest sense of the word. They contemned no field of thought; they 'culled flowers from every meadow.' In spite of mysticism, which slightly tinged their philosophical conceptions, their views on social and political problems were highly practical and intensely humane. As the result of their labours, they gave to the world a general *résumé* of the knowledge of the time in separate treatises, which were collectively known as the *Rasâil-o-Ikhwân-us-Safâ-wa Khullân-ul-Wafâ*, "Tracts of the Brothers of Purity and Friends of Sincerity;" or shortly *Rasâil-o-Ikhwân-us-Safâ*. These *risâlds* range over every subject of human study—mathematics, including astronomy, physical geography, music and mechanics; physics, including chemistry, meteorology and geology; biology, physiology, zoology, botany, logic, grammar, metaphysics, ethics, the doctrine of a future life, etc. They constituted, in fact, a popular encyclopædia of all the sciences and philosophy, then extant. The theory of these evolutionists of the tenth century as to the development of animal organism may be compared with advantage with that

* There might have been a branch of this Society in Spain, for says Hajee Khalfa: 'The *Rasâil-o-Ikhwân-us-Safâ* by Hakim al Ma'arifi of Cordova, died 395 A. H. (inc., 18 Oct. 1004), is a different model of the *Ikhwân-us-Safâ*.'

الحكيم المجريطي القرطبي المتوفى سنة ٣٩٥ هـ وهي
لصفاء—(Kashf uz-Zunoon, (ed. Fluegel, Vol. iii.)

entertained in present times. But we are not concerned so much with the scientific and intellectual side of their writing as with the ethical and moral. The ethics of the "Pure" are founded on self-study and the purification of the soul, brought from all impurities. Moral endowments are prized above all intellectual gifts, and the strength of soul founded upon patient self-discipline, and self-control is regarded as the highest of virtues. "Faith without works, knowing without doing, were vain." Patience and forbearance, mildness and loving gentleness, justice, mercy, and truth, the sublimity of virtue, the sacrifice of self for others, are taught in every line. Cant, hypocrisy and deceit, envy and pride, tyranny and falsehood, are reprobated in every page; and the whole is pervaded by a purity of sentiment, a fervent love of humanity, an earnest faith in the progress of man, a universal charity, embracing even the brute creation in its fold. What can be more beautiful, more truly humane, than the disputation between the 'Animals and Mankind?' Their ethics form the foundation of all later works. Their religious idea was identical with that of Fârâbi and Ibn Sinâ,—the universe was an emanation from God, but not directly; the Primal Absolute Cause created Reason, or the Active Intelligence; and from this proceeded the *Nafs-o-Nufûs*, the Abstract Soul, from which sprang primary matter, the protoplasm of all material entities; the active intelligence moulded this primary matter, and made it capable of taking shapes and forms, and set it in motion, whence were formed the spheres, planets, etc. Then morality is founded on this very conception of the Primal Absolute Cause being connected by an unbroken chain with the lowest of His creation; for the Abstract Soul individualised in humanity is always struggling to attain by purity of life, self-discipline, intellectual study, the goal of Perfection,—to get back to the source from which it emanated. This is *Mâdd* (مَعَاد); this is the 'Return' which the Prophet taught; this is the rest and peace inculcated in the Scripture. It was thus that the 'Pure Bréthren' taught. Whatever we may think of their psychology, there is no denying that their morality was of the purest, their ethics of the highest, that can be conceived, standing on a different plane from those of the theologians who induced the bigot Mustanjid to burn their encyclopædia in Bagdad, before Bagdad itself was burnt by the Mongols."

THE THIRD* RISALAH ON THE BELIEFS OF THE 'BROTHERS
OF PURITY' AND THE CREED OF THE GOD

*In the name of God the Clement and the Merciful
Him is our reliance.*

Praise be to God and peace on his chosen servants who do not associate anyone with Him. Know, O Brother, may God strengthen thee and us with his spirit, that we have just finished the description of the path leading to God, and how to arrive at a knowledge of him, and this is the highest end. Now we intend to state in this tract the Beliefs of the "Brothers of Purity" and the Creed of the godly and to show that the soul exists after its separation from the body (which is interpreted as natural death) by way of satisfactory evidences (مقتنع) and not by way of conclusive proofs (برهان). So we say: In ancient times, it is said, a sage versed in medicine entered a city and found the inhabitants suffering from a secret, subtle internal disease. But the people were not aware of, and could not perceive, the existence of the disease in their constitution. The sage began to meditate as to how to make them see their disease and how to cure them of the malady which had continued in their system. He knew, too, that if he were to tell them of it, they would not listen to him, would not accept his admonitions; rather they would attribute it to hostility, would consider his judgment defective, his manners ill, his knowledge imperfect. So he betook himself to the following device on account of his excessive benevolence and philanthropy and his ardent desire to cure them, with a view to secure the pleasure of God. He laid hold of one of the leading men of the city afflicted with the disease and gave him a *sherbet* to drink and caused him to inhale a certain perfume. The man sneezed immediately and found a lightness in his body, comfort in his senses, health in his body and strength in his soul. He thanked the sage and wished God to give him a good recompense and said to him: 'Is there any service I might render you in return for the kindness you have done me?' He said: 'Yes; help me in curing a brother of thine.' He said: 'With all my heart—I hear and obey.' So they agreed upon this and went to another man whom they considered nearest to reform. They treated him with that medicine and he was instantly cured. When he recovered from his illness he thanked them and said: 'Can I be of any service to you?' They said, 'Yes; help us in curing a brother of thine.' So they agreed upon this and met another person and treated and cured him in the like manner, and he said to them on his recovery as the others had said and

* The 3rd *Risalah*, Vol. iv.

received a similar reply. So they went about the town, curing in secret one man after another, till they had cured quite a large number of people, and the number of their brothers, helpers and advocates also grew large. Then they appeared before the public and effected cures openly and forced the people to submit to their medical treatment. They used to throw the people on the ground, and a group of men kept them down by holding their hands and feet and another group caused them forcibly to drink the *sherbet* and inhale the perfume. This they continued to do till the whole town was cured of the disease.

CHAPTER I.

Know, O righteous and merciful brother, may God strengthen thee and us with his spirit, that this is the similitude of the prophets in the beginning of their call to the people—to make them remember what they forgot of a Hereafter (امر الآخرة) and of the 'Return' (معاد), to awaken them from the sleep of ignorance, and the slumber of forgetfulness, which are the diseases of the soul.

The Prophet at the commencement of his Mission began first with his wife, Khadijah, then with his cousin, Ali, then with his friend, Abu Bakr, then with Mâlik, then Abu Zarr, then Suhayb, Bilâl, Salmân, Jâbir and Bishâr, etc., etc., till the number rose to 39, men and women. Then the Prophet prayed that God might honour Islam by (the addition of) one of the two men, either Abu Jahl or Omar b. Khattâb. His prayer was granted in respect of Omar and he entered the pale of Islam and they became forty in number and preached publicly, and the story is long and well-known as to how it succeeded. So did Moses, when he entered Egypt, at the commencement of his Mission, and began secretly with his brother Aaron and with other learned men of the Israelites, children of Jacob, till they were ten in number. Then they came out and intended the summoning of the Pharoah, and the story is long and well-known.

And so did Jesus in Jerusalem at the commencement of his ministry.

Know, O brother, that the departments of Science are two—Physical Science and the Science of Religion.* The prophets, their apostles and vice-gerents, are the physicians of the soul. This is the creed of our Honoured Brotherhood and towards this we call the rest of our brethren. So be, O virtuous and kind-hearted brother, a helper to thy brethren and an aider to them.

Know that many of the people believing in the life to come are in a state of perplexity and bewilderment. Neither do

* A reference to the saying of the Prophet :

العلم علمان علم الابدان و علم الاديان -

they comprehend its reality (حقيقت), nor know its path (طريق), but sheepishly relate (the same thing), the successor from the predecessor, and the follower from the followed; and they are in this respect like a company of blind men walking, the hand of one placed on the shoulder of another and formed like a string of camels. If there were no leader possessed of sight, all of them would go astray. And I conjure thee, O brother, that thou be not one of the blind, but rather be the leader possessed of sight, the kind physician who cures the born-blind and the leper, and be not the ailing patient who stands in need of medical aid. And know that when the physicians are unanimous in their opinions as to the treatment of a patient and are agreed upon a certain medicine and have discovered the seat of the disease and help each other in his treatment, loving, counselling, and not wrangling with each other, God cures the patient through them in the shortest time and at their least effort. But if they differ and wrangle with and oppose each other, the patient is neglected and dies. God cures him not for them, nor do they profit by their knowledge.

So be thou, O brother, a help to thy brethren in harmony with, and advising each other, and God will benefit his servants through thee and will better their conditions; as God has promised: "Send an umpire out of his family and an arbiter out of her family: if they intend good and reconciliation, God will cause them to be unanimous.*" I have heard from traditions that the two arbiters of the Day of Siffin did not mean good and reconciliation; rather they deceived each other and concealed treachery. So they did not agree as regards peace according to the righteous way. And the Commander of the Faithful† returned dissatisfied with the umpires.

CHAPTER II.

Know, O virtuous and kind-hearted brother that we, the band of the pure brethren and noble and sincere friends, were asleep for a long time in the Cave ‡ of our father Adam, whirled by the revolution of time and the vicissitudes of fortune, till the appointed time was come after dispersion in the lands of the Kingdom of the Lord of the Great Law (صاحب الزمان الأكبر) and we witnessed the Spiritual City raised aloft in the air, which we have mentioned in the second *risalah*. It is this city

* Koran, ch. iv.

† Ali, the fourth Caliph.

‡ An allusion to the story of the 'Seven Sleepers.' Seven Noble Youths of Ephesus, who, to avoid the persecution of the emperor Decius (by the Arab writers called دقيانوس, Dekianus), having fled to a certain cavern for refuge, were made to fall asleep, and in that state were miraculously kept for centuries. Koran, ch. xviii.

from which Father Adam; his wife and their children were expelled, when they were deceived by their accursed enemy, Iblis. He said: "Shall I guide thee to the Tree of Eternity and to the Kingdom which does not decay?" They were deceived by his speech and they were impelled by ardent desire and haste. So they hastened and sought that which was not theirs to take before the time was ripe. So they fell from their high position, their rank was lowered, their private parts were disclosed, and they were expelled, they and their descendants, enemies of each other, and it was said to them: "Get ye down and there shall be a dwelling place for you on earth and a provision for a season;*" 'in it ye shall live and in it ye shall die and from it ye shall be brought out †' on the day of resurrection; when ye shall wake from the sleep of ignorance, be roused from the slumber of forgetfulness, 'when the trumpet shall be blown and the graves yawning and yield their dead †' and when ye shall 'come out of the graves hastily as if towards an idol they are pouring.†'

Haste thou, O brother, may God strengthen thee and us with his spirit (a desire) to hasten and embark with us on board the Ark of Salvation built by our father Noah, and thou shalt escape the Deluge of Passions (الطبعة) before the 'sky brings forth a manifest smoke,†' and shalt be saved from the waves of the Sea of Matter (بحر المادى), and thou shalt not be of the drowned; or hast thou, O brother, (a desire) to gaze with us till thou seest the Kingdom of Heaven which our father Abraham saw 'when the shadows of night had gathered round him,† and till thou beest of the believers; hast thou, O brother, (a desire) to fulfil the covenant and come towards the appointed time from 'the right side ‡' (of the valley) where it was said 'O Moses' and thy work shall be done and thou shalt be of those who witness (the glory of the Lord); or hast thou, O brother, (a desire) to do what the people performed in order that it may breathe the spirit into thee and remove the reproach from thee till thou seest Jesus to the right of the Throne of God (who) had approached his seat as the son approaches the father, or till thou beest of the spectators round him. Or hast thou, O brother (a desire), to come out of the darkness of Ahriman § till thou seest Yazdân irradiating a flood of light in the expanse of *afri-*

* Koran, ch. ii.

† Quotations from the Koran which may easily be traced to their respective contexts.

‡ Koran; ch. xxviii, cf. also ch. xx.

§ The principle of darkness and evil, according to the Zoroastrian system, opposed to Ormuzd (Yazdân), the principle of light and good, and creator of all things.

يزدان خالق الخير يزعم المجرس اهرمن خالق الشر يزعمهم (كذاب مغاليع العالم)

hoon (افريجون)* or hast thou, O brother (a desire) to ente the altar of Adimoon† (هيكل عاديمون) till thou seest the spheres (افلاك) described by Plato. Verily they are spiritua spheres, not those towards which the astronomers point—the knowledge (علم) of God encompasses all which Intellect (عقل) contains of comprehensibles (معقولات); and Intellect encom passes all which soul (نفس) contains of forms (صور), and soul encompasses all which Nature (طبيعة) contains of be-ent (كائنات); and Nature encompasses all which Matter (هيولى) contains of the created (مصنوعات). Behold that the spiritua spheres encompass one another. Hast thou, O brother (a desire), not to sleep at the beginning of the Night of Power and excellence (ليلة القدر), till thou seest the Ascension (معراج), to wards the dawn of morning, where is Ahmad, the messenger in 'the honourable station; ‡' then thou shalt ask thy object (which is as it were) already accomplished, and (which is) neither forbidden nor lost, and thou shalt be of those near (مقرنين).

O righteous and kind-hearted brother, may God grant thee and all our brethren the grace of comprehending these hints and mysteries, and open thy heart, expand thy chest, purify thy soul and illumine thy understanding so that thou mayest witness with thy mental eye (بصيرت) the real nature of these mysteries. And do not be frightened at the death of the body when thou hast abandoned it, for in this (separation of the soul from the body) is the life of the soul; and thou shalt be one of the friends of God who longed for death, not out

* I think افريجون is a misprint for افريجيون which is the opposite of افريجيون, Greek ἀπογαιον, apogee or that point in the orbit of the sun, or of a planet, which is at the greatest distance from the earth—

الافريجيون هو الأوج باليونانية والافريجيون هو الحضيض - الأوج هو ارتفاع موضع من الفلك الخارج المركز اعني ابعدة من الأرض وهي كلمة فارسية وهي اوج وقيل اورة-الحضيض هو مقابل الأوج و هو اخفض موضع في هذا الفلك

و اقرب من الأرض - Lib Mafā'ih Al-Olām, (ed. Vloten), p 221. -
‡ يقال ان عاديمون و هرمس هما شيت و ادريس عليهما السلام - و نقلت الفلاسفة عن عاديمون انه قال المبادي الأول خمسة-الباري تعالى و العقل و النفس و المكان و الخلاء و بعدها وجود المركبات-||

“It is said that 'Azimoon ('Adimoon) and Haimos are (identical with) Seth and Id'is (on them be peace). The Philosophers relate from 'Azimoon that he said, "The first principles are five, God, Intelligence, Soul, Space, Vacuum and after these the existence of the compounds."

‡ Koran, ch. xvii. According to a tradition of 'Abu Horeira, 'the honourable station' here intended is that of intercessor for others (Beidhāwai). But according to the Sūfi-istic interpretation, it is 'the state ecstatic union with God.'—*Kashshāf-o-Isildhāt-ul-Funoon*, p. 657.

of the notion that He is one of them (?). God says: 'O ye who Judaize, if ye claim to be the friends of God, exclusive of the rest of mankind, long ye for death if ye are truthful.'

And know, O brother, that he, who does not think that he shall be rewarded after the dissolution of the body and be recompensed for his love towards thee, shall not be sincere in his love and unselfish in his counsel. So be not deceived by those who, in helping thee, (pretend) not to have in view some reward—(positive) good to the body or averting an evil from it. And know that all mutual helpers in search of gain in which there is liability of the destruction of the body of some and the safety of others, (in such a case) every one desires his own safety and the destruction of the bodies of his companions, so that he may monopolise the gain and be the envied of others, while his companions would be the deceived and the perishing.

Know, O brother, that such are not the views of our 'Brotherhood,' neither is such their belief about the helping of each other in the search after religious and secular good (صلاح الدين و الدنيا). Rather it is quite the reverse. And their noble ethics and beautiful beliefs are best illustrated by what is related of a sage who was vizier of al-Khaishawân (الخشوان), King of the Hayâtelites.* When Firoze, King of the Persians, marched against him, and when the news reached al-Khaishawân, and he perceived that he was unable to make a stand against Firoze, he summoned all his courtiers and sought their counsel. Some advised him to fight, some to flee and some to have recourse to stratagem. And said one of those who had advised the king to have recourse to stratagem—and he was a sage: 'O king, I have a subtle and cunning device; if you adopt it and act according to it, you, your army and your subjects shall be saved, your country delivered and your enemy destroyed.' Said the king: 'Quick with your counsel and wisdom.' He said: 'Empty for me the council hall.' The king did so. Then said the sage: 'I am of opinion that you collect your treasures, and start for such a place, which is an impregnable position, and halt you and your troops there, and then pass to such a place; and cut off my hands and feet, put out my eyes and leave me in this place, and put on an appearance of being angry with me, and tell those around you and at the gate that you have discovered my treachery and evil design and this is the punishment thereof. Then march

* A Scythian or Indian race that was formerly powerful.

الهيأة جيل من الناس كانت لهم شوكة وكانت لهم بلاد طخارستان
و اثرات خليج و فنجينه من بقاياهم - *Kit. Masâlih-al olâm*, p. 119.

off when you perceive the King of the Persians approaching, and leave me where I am and wait till my plans are matured.' Said the king: 'By God, I never saw a man giving away, nor ever thought that a man would give away, what thou givest away—thy life.' Said the sage: 'Similar spirit of self-sacrifice had been evinced before me by a cunning but wise man.' The king said, 'Relate his story to me.' Said the sage: 'They relate that a company of divers went to an island to bring out pearls and a cunning deceitful man accompanied them to rob them of some of the pearls. When they obtained what they had desired and were returning, and the man was not successful in his intentions (of robbing them, and had nothing with him) except what they gave him of the smaller pearls in lieu of service rendered by him, they were attacked by a band of highwaymen. When the divers saw the robbers approaching they swallowed the precious pearls, fearing the losing thereof; but there was nothing with the cunning and deceitful man which he would fear the losing of; so he did not swallow anything. When the robbers took them prisoners, they searched their persons, but found nothing except the small pearls. They said: 'Where have you concealed the large pearls?' They said: 'These are all that we have.' Said the highwaymen: 'Rather ye have swallowed them, and we shall rip open your bellies.' They kept them prisoners that night and determined to rip open their bellies (in the morning).

• And the divers began to meditate all the night through, and the cunning man reflected within himself, and he was a wise man; so he took them aside and said to them: "I inform you that I did not accompany you but for such and such a purpose; I am not successful in getting what I desired and I know that every one of you has swallowed pearls except me, and if the belly of one is ripped open, and is found to contain pearls, all of us would certainly be killed. I think, therefore, that the correct view is that I ransom you all with my life; perchance you may be saved. I shall say to the robbers: 'If you are determined (and there is no escape) then rip open the belly of one of us, and if it is found to contain pearls, you are at liberty to do what you like with the rest; but, if you do not find anything, know that we are truthful. But leave us to draw lots amongst ourselves and do what you like with the person whose name is drawn.' If they agree to this proposal, I shall so devise that my name shall be drawn. And if my life is lost and you are saved, I request you to do good to my children and to treat them kindly and console them, when you escape (God willing), with what you have with you." So it was done with him and nothing was found in his belly and the men were saved.

"So, O King, I know that if our enemy is victorious, I shall doubtlessly perish, but I hope that if my stratagem succeeds, the king, his retinue, his subjects and those around him shall be saved and our enemy shall be destroyed, even though my body shall perish. Besides, I see that that young man was more generous than I am. For he was a youth longing for life, and I am an old man sick and tired of life; besides I know that the king, when saved, will do good more to my progeny than the man could except of his companions; and it will be one of the noble stories after me as in the case of that man; besides, those whom I ransom with my life are more in number than those whom he ransomed."

At the approach of Firoze, King of the Persians, the King of the Hayâtelites ordered the hands and feet of the sage to be cut off, and, leaving him where he was, he marched off with his troops. When the companions of Firoze saw the sage in such a plight, they enquired of him, 'Who has done this to you?' He said: 'I am one of the ministers of the King of the Hayâtelites. When the king sought my counsel regarding fighting against Firoze, I advised him to sue for peace and pay the tribute. He disliked this and has done to me what you see.' This news was carried to Firoze, and the sage was sent for and interrogated, and he answered as above. Firoze believed what he said and told him that he was right in his advice. Said the sage: 'O king, let thy kindness reach me, carry me along with thee so that the beasts may not make a prey of me; and I shall guide thee to a way shorter and more sequestered than the one you are wending.' The king accepted his offer, and he said: 'Take with you two days' provisions,' and traversed with them a distant desert. When they had travelled for two days their provisions were exhausted, and they said, 'How much is there left of the way?' He said, 'A little; march a forced march.' So they travelled all the day long and when the morrow dawned, they asked him, 'How much is there remaining?' Said the sage, 'I do not know; I traversed this path when I had my sight, and now you see my plight; seek safety for yourself.' So they dispersed and most of them lost their lives, and Firoze escaped with only a handful of his chosen men and returned to his country. Then al-Khaishawân made peace with Firoze and returned to his country in safety, he and his retinue. And the children of the old man became the most honoured in the Kingdom and the richest; and the noble story of his self-sacrifice continued to be narrated amongst his brethren, friends and contemporaries and handed down from generation to generation.

Similar to the above are the views of our brethren, the

accomplished and the generous, in regard to helping each other in aid of religion and search of livelihood, when they perceive that in the destruction of their bodies lies the good of society in religious and secular affairs. Their souls are ready to give their bodies to destruction, because they hope like the old sage and the wise young man, and they hope more—they think and believe that whosoever sacrifices his self, seeking the pleasure of God and the succour of religion and the good of society, his soul after separation from the body shall mount towards the Kingdom of Heaven (ملكوت السماء), shall enter the circle of the angels, shall live in the Holy Spirit (نحي روح القدس), and shall travel in the space of the spheres, in the expanse of the heavens, with joy, happiness, delight, pleasure, bliss, honoured and envied. And in the Koran by 'unto him ascendeth the *good speech*, (الكلم الطيب) and righteous work exalteth it,"* the soul of the faithful is meant. God says 'Thou shalt in no wise reckon those who have been slain in the path (cause) of God, dead; nay, they are sustained alive with their Lord, rejoicing for what God hath granted them of his bounties etc., etc.'†

And every one knows that the *bodies* of those slain (at Ohod) decomposed and decayed and crumbled into dust; but the privilege of immortality (mentioned above) is meant for the *souls* which gave their bodies up to destruction for the sake of religion and the good of society.

When the prophet emigrated from Mecca to Medina he issued a proclamation to the faithful commanding them to migrate* to him. Some of them hastened to emigrate, and some of them lagged behind pondering over the deterrent causes—the loss of little children, or old parents, or brothers, or friends, or agreeable wife, or beloved home, or accumulated wealth whose loss they feared, or trade whose decline they were afraid of. Then God revealed this verse to the Prophet, and the Prophet sent it to them—'Say, if thy parents, and thy sons, and thy brethren, and thy wives, and thy relations and thy wealth which ye have amassed, and *thy* trade whose decline ye are apprehensive of, and *thy* abodes wherein ye delight, be dearer unto you than God and his Messenger and fighting in his path; wait, till God sends his sentence, for God guideth not the ungodly.‡' When they read it they hastened to the Prophet, and only the weak and infirm were left behind, their exodus not being possible, owing to shortness of provisions and the distance of the journey. So they remained with their longing unsatisfied.‡

And the infidels of Mecca began to persecute them, abusing,

* Koran, ch. 35.

† Koran, ch. 3.

‡ Koran, ch. 9.

imprisoning, beating and killing them. So they complained to God and prayed for speedy relief, and they wrote to the Prophet informing him of the persecution they met with at the hands of the infidels. So God revealed the following verse and permitted the Prophet to war against the infidels of Mecca in order to deliver them (the Moslems) from their hands :—
 ‘And what has come to you, that ye fight not in the path (the cause) of God, and for the weak among men, women, and children, who say, O Lord, bring us forth from this city the inhabitants whereof are tyrannical; grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender.*’

So the Prophet marched out to fight the infidels of Mecca at Bedr.

When the two armies met each other and hastened to the fight, the *Ansârs* (Helpers) pressed forward, and the infidels called aloud, ‘Send to us our peers.’ And the Prophet said, ‘O Children of Hâshim, aiding your Prophet has already become incumbent on you.’ So Hamza, his uncle, Ali, and Abu Obaida came forward and fought in single combat. And the fight became general and raged round the infidels. There were with the Prophet about 70 men of the *Mohâjirîns* (Emigrants) and there was hardly any one who had not in the ranks of the infidels either a son, or a father, or a brother, or a friend, or a relation; but they did not reply to them (their war-cry) and fought with them unmindful of their death or of their own. For they knew that in it lay the advancement of religion, the good of their brethren the faithful, and obedience to the Prophet and the pleasure of God.

In the same way at Ohod, when the fight grew hot, and the faithful were defeated, and the Prophet was left with a handful of men, he said, ‘Who helps me this day and ransoms me with his life, for him is Paradise.’ Hereupon three men of the *Ansârs* came forward and stood in front of the infidel archers and protected the Prophet with the shield of their bodies, till all of them died the death of martyrs. They sacrificed themselves because they knew that in his existence consisted the advancement of religion and the good of society; and that the Prophet did not ask them to ransom him out of fear of death or out of longing for the present life, but because the religion was yet in its infancy and the Law was not yet perfect. When the verse, ‘This day we have perfected thee thy religion, and exhausted for thee our bounties,’ and the verse, ‘When the assistance of God comes and victory, etc.,’† were revealed, the Prophet said, ‘I am announced the news of my death.’ They said, ‘O Messenger of God, would that thou ask God to let

* Koran, ch. 4.
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† Koran, ch. 110.

thee live in the midst of thy disciples till doomsday that they might be edified by thy society.' Said the Prophet, 'To God do we belong and to Him shall we return; God has denied his friends eternity in this world.' Then he said, 'How I long for the companionship of my brethren, the prophets.'

After this he did not live long, but died and passed unto the Lord.

CHAPTER III. •

Know that the prophets, their followers and successors and those who hold similar opinions, *viz.*, the sages and philosophers think lightly of bodily affairs when the soul is in an exalted state; for they regard the Body as the Prison of the Soul, or a Veil, or a Path, or Purgatory (برزخ) * or Limbo (اعراف) † and we have explained these terms in our previous tracts. The soul is apprehensive of, and loves the body so long as it is not in a state of exaltation, but when it is excited, its separation from the body becomes easy. And the burning of their dead by the Brahmans, and they are Indian philosophers, supports our assertion. I do not mean those who do that ignorantly (without understanding its deep significance), but I mean their thoughtful, deep-sighted philosophers. They believe that the body is to the individual soul (النفس الجزئية) what the egg is to the young of fowls, or the membrane which wraps the foetus to the embryo; and that nature is its nurse and takes care of it so long as its formation is not developed and its shape is not perfected. But when the formation is completed and the form perfect, it thinks lightly of it, and does not mind if the egg breaks or the membrane is torn when the chicken or child is safe. Such is the relation of the soul to the body. It is anxious for the body, protects it and loves it so long as it does not know that it has an existence separate from the body and that that existence is better, more lasting, more delightful and more beautiful than this present existence wedded to the body.

When the individual soul has attained its full development, when its form is complete and its knowledge perfect, when the soul awakes from its slumber and is aroused from the sleep of forgetfulness, when it perceives that it is an exile in this physical world (العالم الجسماني), that it is in the bondage of

* The boundary between Paradise and Hell: by some supposed to resemble a veil; by others a thick wall. It is in general considered as the Muhammadan Purgatory. The Arabs seem generally to express by it what the Greeks did by the word Hades—the interval or space between this world and the next, etc., etc. For the various meanings of *al-barzakh*, *vide* Koran (Sale's trans.), chs. 23 and 25.

† Koran, ch. 5. *Vide* Sale's Prelim. Disc. Sect. iv.

Nature, in the Sea of Matter (بحر المادى), bewildered in the depths of corporealities, enslaved to the service of the flesh, deceived by the meretricious glow of the perceptibles (محمسوسات), when the reality of its substance (ذات) becomes manifest, when it comes to know the superiority of its essence, when it surveys its universe, when it contemplates that spiritual *form* separated from *matter*, and witnesses those hues and tints and intellectual delights (الملاذ العقليه), when it beholds those splendours, glories and lights, those blisses and delights, those graces and blessings (روح ورحان), (then) easy becomes to it the leaving of the body and it agrees to its destruction for the pleasure of God and the aid of the faith and the good of society.

The prophets also believed in the immortality of the soul and its good condition after the destruction of the body, as did Moses and Jesus and other prophets.

Said Moses to his disciples and brethren, 'O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls, by your taking the calf *for your God*; therefore be turned unto your Creator, and slay your own selves; this is better for you in the sight of your Creator;'^{*} i.e., slay your *bodies* with the sword, for the sword does not affect the essence of the soul. The people had created dissensions by the worship of the calf during the absence of Moses to the mountain, but when he returned and it became clear to them that they had strayed, they repented and asked for forgiveness. When Moses perceived that those who had been free from (the guilt of) worshipping the calf were those who stood fast by his traditions, and those who had worshipped the calf were those who held the traditions of the (Time of Ignorance) previous to his mission, he thought that, if they were allowed to outlive him, he would not be secure of innovations in his religion, traditions and Law. Therefore he thought that the correct decision was to banish them from the quarters of the Children of Israel, and God also permitted him to do so, for there was good in it for the majority, and public benefit. Moses said unto them, 'If you wish God to pardon you, make requitals to those you have oppressed; write out your testaments, put on shrouds, go out to the place of prayer and call unto the Lord to have compassion on you and pardon you or to pass his sentence on you.' They did so willingly and unwillingly—willingly did they who knew that good was there for his soul in the destruction of the body; and unwillingly did they who were blind (deaf?) to those (good) tidings. Then Moses commanded those who had

^{*} Koran, ch. 2.

abstained from worshipping the calf to draw their swords and strike off the heads of the calf-worshippers and ordered no one to have pity on any of them or to be moved with compassion.* They did what they were commanded to do and were patient; for they knew that in this obedience was the life of their souls. And there was no one but had amongst the slain a brother, or a son, or a relative, or a friend; but this did not prevent them from executing the sentence, since they knew that in the destruction of their bodies was the good of their souls, the aid of the faith, good of the rest of their brethren, obedience to Moses and the pleasure of God.

CHAPTER IV.

(The gist of ch. IV.)

That the prophets believed in the immortality of the soul and in its blessed state after separation from the body, is evident from the action of Jesus † and his advice to his disciples (حواريين) who endured manifold sufferings for the spread of their faith and suffered martyrdom for the sake of truth. And the actions of the monks, hermits, anchorites and ascetics who deny themselves all sorts of earthly enjoyments, prove that they firmly believe in a future and a better life.

CHAPTER V.

Abraham and Joseph also believed in the immortality of the soul, as is evident from their prayer to God to grant them 'companionship with the good' after death.

CHAPTER VI.

The People of the House (اهل البيت, the members of the Prophet's family), also believed in the immortality of the soul, as is evident from the fact of their giving their bodies up to destruction in the field of Kerbela, where they suffered martyrdom for the sake of truth. They patiently endured without a murmur all the pangs of intense heat and thirst, sword-cuts and lance-thrusts, till life was extinct and the soul abandoned the 'tenement of clay.'

CHAPTER VII.

The sages and the philosophers also believed in the immortality of the soul.

Socrates willingly suffered death for the sake of truth and cheerfully drank the cup of hemlock. It is plain, from what he told his friends, pupils and disciples at the time of his death, that he was a staunch believer in the immortality of the soul.

* See Exod. xxxii, 24. Moses ordered the Levites to slay *every man his brother; and there fell of the people that day about 3,000 men.*

† It is noteworthy that in his account of Christ's crucifixion the author follows the Christian scriptures and not the Koran, according to which 'they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented by one in his likeness; . . . they did not really kill him; but God took him up unto himself.' See Koran, ch. iv.

CHAPTER VIII.

Plato said, 'If there were not a Hereafter where we expect good, the world would have been an opportunity for the wicked,' He said also, 'We are here in exile, in the bondage of Nature, in the neighbourhood of the devils; the sin of our father Adam has driven us out of our home.'

From what he wrote in his treatise '*The Apple*' (التفاح), his speech at the time of his death and his lecture on the superiority of the study of philosophy, it is clear that Aristotle, the founder of the science of Logic, was a believer in the immortality of the soul.

From his '*Golden Treatise*' (الرسالة الذهبية), his parting advice to Diogenes and his other writings, it is evident that Pythagoras of the science of Numbers, (صاحب العدد) was also a firm believer in the immortality of the soul.

CHAPTER IX.

Another proof of the immortality of the soul can be obtained if a thoughtful man carefully analyses the grief of people over their dead. If they weep for the person of the dead they have no reason to weep, for the body is before them apparently unchanged, and they may embalm it, if they like, to prevent it from decay for a long time. If it is said that the grief is due to the absence of motion, action, etc., which used to proceed from the body, it may be asked, why do not they weep when the patient sleeps? For then all signs of life are absent except pulse and breathing. Do not you see, O Brother, that all these, love, affection and friendship are for the pure soul and the precious essence; and all the weepings and wailings are for the loss of the soul which manifested itself through the body by those motions, actions, speeches, etc., etc.

The frequenting the shrines of saints, prophets and holy men in fulfilment of vows, in search of pardon, intercession, grant of prayer, etc., also show that those people who do so tacitly believe in the immortality of the soul.

CHAPTER X.

There was a city on a mountain-top in an island whose soil was rich and fertile, whose climate was pleasant and agreeable, whose water was sweet and whose air salubrious. It had plenty of trees with abundance of delicious fruits. And its inhabitants were cousins and brothers descended from one man. Their life was the sweetest of lives, (passed) in love, friendship and affection, free from hatred, malice, enmity and envy.

It happened that a band of the citizens of this Blessed Isle put to sea and were wrecked and the waves cast them on another island full of rocky, rugged, uneven mountains, lofty trees, deep springs, foul water and dark caverns. It

was inhabited by wild beasts, mostly by apes. And in an adjacent island there was a large gigantic bird which used to fly past this island every day and every night and to carry off a number of the monkeys. These shipwrecked persons scattered themselves over the island in search of food. They ate of the fruits, drank the water of the springs, clothed themselves with the leaves of the trees and took shelter from the heat and cold in the caverns. They soon became familiar with the monkeys, as of all the animals they are the nearest to man in appearance. As time went on they made the island their home and took refuge in the mountains and found their condition pleasant and forgot their original home and its pleasures and blessings. And they built houses with stones, took possession of lands, and hankered after gathering as much of the fruits as each could. Hatred and malice were generated, they began to envy each other, and thus dissensions broke out amongst them.

Then one of them saw in a dream as if he had returned to the Island, and the inhabitants, when they heard of it, rejoiced at his return and his relatives and people came out of the city to welcome him. As he was changed in appearance on account of his long exile, they bathed him in a neighbouring well, had his nails pared and hair cropped. They clothed him in the best of dress, perfumed him and arranged his toilette and then took him on horseback to the city. The people rejoiced at his return exceedingly and congratulated him and began to interrogate him about his companions. They convened a meeting and made him occupy the most prominent place and the people sat round him wondering at his unexpected return; and he was beyond himself with joy and grateful to God for delivering him from the strange banishment. When he awoke, and found himself still surrounded by monkeys, his heart became contracted, and he became grieved, sad, dejected and thoughtful, and began to long for return.

He related his dream to a brother of his, and it awakened in him the memories of his home, wife, children, friends and relatives, and they began to devise means for returning. They hit upon the plan of building a boat by their joint exertions wherewith to escape from the island, and they made a solemn vow of working indefatigably without respite till their object was accomplished. Then they thought that the greater the number of the workers, the sooner would their object be attained. Therefore, they began to revive in others the memories of their home and to persuade them to return, till a large number of men resolved to build a ship; and they bestirred themselves with felling trees and sawing planks.

When they were thus engaged, behold, the bird which used to prey upon the apes, pounced upon a man and flew off with him. But, while on the wing, it perceived that he was not an ape on which it was accustomed to make a meal, so it dropped him. The man found himself on the roof of a house which, on inspection, he discovered to be his own, and he found himself amongst his own people. And the man rejoiced exceedingly at his good fortune and earnestly wished that the bird might every day snatch away one of his companions and drop him down as it did with him. But his companions, when they saw the bird fly off with him, were sad and grieved; they wept and wailed at his fate. But, had they been aware of his good fortune, they would have wished the bird to pounce upon them as he had wished.

Similar to this ought to be the belief of the 'Brothers of Purity' regarding those who die before them. For the Barren Island is the world; Apes are the men inhabiting it; those shipwrecked citizens are the saints and holy men; and the Blessed Isle they sailed from, the Next World—their original Home; and the gigantic Bird, Death.

POSTSCRIPT.

I.

The following passages from the 47th * Epistle or Tract of the 'Brothers of Purity' clearly show that the author of the *Rasāyil* was, if not Ahmad b. Abdullah, a Shiah or a follower of Ali :

Leaf, 626†.

اعلم يا اخي بان شيعتنا و اخواننا الخ -

Know, O brother, that our *Shiahs* (followers, adherents) and brethren, etc.,

Leaf 642.

اعلم يا اخي باننا قد عملنا احدي وخمسين رسالة... لكيما اذا نظر فيها اخواننا وسمع قرائتها اهل شيعتنا وفهموا بعض معانيها عرفوا حقيقة ما هم مقرون به من تفضيل اهل بيت النبي الخ -

Know, O brother, that we have composed 51 tracts so that when our brothers peruse them and our *Shiahs* hear them read and understand some of its meanings they may perceive the rightness of what they profess, which consists in *regarding the members of the prophet's family superior*, etc.

Leaf 646.

ومما يجمعنا و اياك ايها الاخ محبة نبينا و اهل بيته الطاهرين و ولاية امير المؤمنين على عليه السلام خير الوصيين -

And (one), of (the distinguishing traits), which we possess and thou, O brother, (is) the love of our Prophet and of the holy and pure members of his family and the *affection* 'vildyet'† of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali (on him peace) the best of the executors.

ابو سليمان محمد بن مشعر النسبي و يعرف بالمقدسي و ابو الحسن بن زهرون الرويحي و ابو احمد النهرجوري و العوفي و زيد بن رفاعه كلهم حكماء اجتمعوا و صنفوا رسائل اخوان الصفاء و الفاظ هذا الكتاب للمقدسي -

"Abu Solaimán M'd. b. Mosh'ar an-Nasabi, known as al-

* Or the 7th of the (الناموسية الالهية) metaphysical tracts

الرسالة السابعة من القسم الرابع في كيفية الدعوة الى الله عزوجل -

† Ms. in the possession of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Old No. 104.

‡ Perhaps a double entente.

Moqaddasi, Abu'l Hasan b. Zahroon ar-Raihani, Abu Ahmad an-Nahrajauri, al-Aufi and Zaid b. Rifaa are the philosophers who composed jointly the *Rasdyil Ikhwan-us-Safa*, and the words (language) of this book are al-Moqaddasi's."

Compare the above extract from the *Tarikh-ul-Hokama* of Shahrzuri with that quoted from the *Kashf-uz-Zumoon*. Shahrzuri does not mention the date, but his work is arranged in chronological order and this passage occurs after the life of Farabi (d. 319 H.). And the *Rasdyilu Ikhwan-us-Safa* is said to have been imported into Spain by al-Majariti (d. 395 H.) or al-Karmani (d. 458 H.). These two dates (319 H. and 395 H.) therefore, form the two termini of the period during which the tracts were compiled, and it is pretty evident that the author or authors flourished about the beginning or middle of the 4th century, Hijrah.

In a preceding note I have stated that there might have been a branch of the society of the 'Brothers of Purity,' in Spain. We find the following passage in the *Nafh-ul-Tib* which throws more light on the subject:—

ومنهم ابو الحكم عمر الكرمانى من اهل قرطبة من الراسخين في علم العدد
والهندسة و دخل المشرق و اشتغل بحران و هو اول من دخل برسائل اخوان الصفاء
الى الاندلس *

"And of the (number is) Abu-l-Hakam 'Omar al-Karmani, an inhabitant of Cordova, (who) acquired great celebrity in arithmetic and geometry. He travelled to the east and was engaged (in study) at Harran. He is the first to introduce into Andalusia the epistles of the Ikhwan-us-Safa."

Commenting on the above extract, M. Pascual de Gayangos says:—"ارباب الصفاء or اخوان الصفاء or اصحاب الصفاء as they are called elsewhere, are supposed to be the authors of various treatises upon moral and political subjects, forming together a sort of Cyclopædia. See Pococke, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, p. 369, *ed nov.*; De Sacy, *Not. et Ext.* vol. IX., p. 407; D'Herb. Bib. Or. voc. *Ekkhouan*."

I believe the author to be wrong in his statement that this individual was the first who introduced into Spain the collection of philosophical treatises known by the title of *Rasdyil arbabi-s-safa*. Kheyr Ibn Khalifah, in his Bibliographical Index (Ar. Ms. in the Esc. Lib., No. 1667), states that Abul-Kasim Moslemah Ibn Ahmed Al-majariti was the first who brought them to Spain from the east, and this fact is further

* Al-Makkari, (ed. Dozy, Dugat, Krehl, et Wright) Tome II., p. 255.

strengthened by the circumstance that the copies of this work preserved in the Bodl. Lib. Oxon, (see Nicoll's cat., p. 189) and in the Escorial (No. 923) are all attributed to Al-majarití, although they are the production of well-known eastern authors. (See Hájí Khalfah, voc. *Rasayil*.)*

But see the quotation from Hájí Khalfah, cited by me in a previous note, where there is no mention of al-Majarití's having introduced the *Rasayil* into Spain, although he must be supposed to have known the work before he himself could write *his Ikhwán-us-Safá* on its model.

Al-Makkari's assertion is corroborated by Ibn Abi Osaybi'ah

(الكروماني) هو أبو الحكم عمر... الكروماني من أهل قرطبة.... ورحل إلى ديار المشرق.... ثم رجع إلى الأندلس واستوطن مدينة سرقسطة.. وجلب معه الرسائل المعروفة برسائل اخوان الصفاء ولا نعلم احداً أدخلها الأندلس قبلاً -

(Al-Karmani). He is Abú-l-Hakam 'Omar-al-Karmani, an inhabitant of Cordova. He travelled to the east, and, on his return to Andalus, settled at Sarāgossa. He brought with him the epistles known as the '*Epistles of the Brothers of Purity*,' and we know no one to have imported it to Spain before him.†

It is strange that M. Pascual de Gayangos, who gives particulars of al-Karmáni's life from Ibn Abi Osaybi'ah,‡ seems not to have noticed this passage.

Al-Karmáni died in 458 H. at the advanced age of ninety §, and even if al-Majarití died in 395 H., he might have composed his work on the model of the *Ikhwán-us-Safá* which al-Karmani had brought from the east. For al-Karmani was still young when he left Andalus for the east.

II.

'*Azmoon* is the corruption of the Greek *Agatho démon*. *Agatho démon* or the 'good genius' was an Egyptian god. According to general belief, this denomination is the approximate translation of *Knef*, or 'the good principle.' According to some authors *Agatho-demon* was the Egyptian *Chetnuph*; and to him are attributed a number of works, a list of which is given by Fabricius in his '*Bibliotheca Græca*'—*Dabistân* (Shea and Troyer's trans.), vol. III., p. 105, n. 1.

* *Hist. of the Muhammadan Dynasties in Spain*, vol. i., p. 429.

† '*Oyún ul Anbá*, vol. ii., p. 40. (Egypt. ed., 1886.)

ابن أبي أصيبعة - الجزء الثاني صفحة ١٠٠ -

‡ *Hist. Mdn. Dyn.*, vol. i., p. 429, Note 45.

§ Seventy according to de Gayangos' Ms.

Till the appointed time was come ; then we awoke when the cycle of sleep* was over, so we assembled for the appointed time after dispersion, etc., Great Law.'

To purify thyself from the impurities of the body so that he may breathe the spirit into thee and take off the reproach from thee till thou seest Jesus.'

ٱفْرِجُونِ *Afrijoon.*

* cf. Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar :— Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*.

ART. XII.—LONDON.

Omnia Romæ cum pretio.

Though Smith's departure gives one cause to grieve—
One scarce can say that he was wrong to leave,
To cross the Channel in a cranky bark
And give one more inhabitant to Sark :
Tobacco there is cheap, the scenery grand,
And life at least as safe as in the Strand :
Storms may be rough, solitude hard to bear,
But Tax-collectors will not vex you there.

* * * *

I went to see him off at Waterloo—
Where five-and-twenty shillings booked him through—
(Himself and baggage to the station got
An average four-wheeler held the lot)
And as we waited for the tardy train,
We took our glass of bitter at the bar,
Drinking to 'when we next may meet again,'
While passengers came straggling from afar.

* * * *

'In all this town,' said Smith, I find no scope
For honest work ; no elbow-room, nor hope ;
I cannot carry on here, day by day
I see my small resources melt away :
So, before health and strength be also sped,
And every shilling's ghost one has to spend
Appear as a white hair upon one's head,
I think it best toward yonder Isles to wend
Where Hugo sang his land's lost liberties
And Gilliat toiling in the angry seas.

* * * *

Let magnates and adventurers remain,
 Brewers, and collier-peers, and Rogues-in-grain,
 The journalists who, as they are bidden, write,
 Prove—— a patriot and black, white ;
 Contractors with false books and falsèr bills,
 And patentees of universal pills ;
 Or country lawyers, borough-mayors at most,
 By hook or crook advanced—and crook for choice—
 They cook their country's goose, they rule the roast,
 And shape our fortunes with imperious voice.

* * * *

' I cannot lie, and would not if I could ;
 I was not born to live by rolling logs ;
 If a book's bad, I will not call it good,
 Prove *Genesis* by galvanising frogs,
 Coin paragraphs about My Lady This,
 Tell how Lord that is hastening to the dogs,
 Or set the world agog about a kiss ;
 I can't afford to speculate or bet,
 Give tips for Ascot or consult Planchette.'

* * * *

* * * *

" Nothing from nothing " is a law of Fate,
 Yet keys of brass unlock the golden gate ;
 What prospers, not to beat about the bush,
 Is euphemistically known as " push ;"
 And push is hard in London, where the cost
 Of simple living is too often lost,
 When School-board-cess and Country-rates have reft
 The savings which the Income-Tax had left.

* * *

" Think of your lodgings and your scanty table,
 I'll wager that with care you'd well be able
 To find a home in Cornwall, Essex, Kent,
 —Taxes and all—for half your London rent :
 And then your clothes ! Your knickerbockers there
 Would never make your country-neighbours stare,
 Nor need you, when you ask a friend to dine,
 Pretend to keep a cellar-full of wine,
 Give cookshop delicacies served on plate,
 Or hire a greengrocer in black to wait ;
 Your maid on earthenware would bring the chops
 And a bright pewter hold the malt and hops :
 Abroad, your wife no costly head-dress rears,
 A hat of modest height adorns her ears,
 No humming-birds upon the summit perch,
 Nor does she mind ; no better decked appears
 The Vicar's lady in her place at Church.

* ° * *
 ' Better to live at Stagnum-in-the-Mere,
 Where your house costs you forty pounds a year :
 Above, the sheltering cliffs frame out the sky
 With fir-trees, tossing plummy crests on high,
 While at your feet, in undulating reach,
 The changeful sea makes music on the beach :
 There you may sleep a sleep that was not known
 Where care and sickness claimed you for their own,
 And softly smile, lapped in your fragrant sheets,
 At all the distant tumult of the streets.

* * * *
 ' Here, you're not quit for cost of house and dress,
 And endless sleep comes after sleeplessness,

Justly the town-pedestrian learns to fear—
 The Hansom-cabman's violent career,
 Vainly his wife has trimmed the smouldering log
 Where sings the kettle for his nightcap-grog ;
 Bloody and crushed, he thinks no more of her,
 But in the dead-house waits the Coroner."

* * * *

' You think, no doubt that I have prosed enough,
 Yet nothing has been said about the rough
 Who takes your watch in Fleet-Street. It is true,
 An equal danger is the rough in blue—
 "Move on, my man ! You're drunk." You argue ? quick
 Appears the officer's crown-headed stick ;
 You face the Magistrate in Court next day,
 And, fined or cautioned, take your weary way,
 Sighing for days of Sheridan and Fox,
 When harmless Charley slumbered in his box.

* * * *

' The poor indeed escape what irks the rich,
 And Mayfair lives no merrier than Shoreditch ;
 Yet who can reason where experience fails,
 Or weigh unknown extremes in equal scales ?
 We mourn the fields deserted, and the streets
 That tempt retainers from the country-seats,
 Driven to the town, but often wandering thence
 To seek in suburb-slums a squalid home—
 Evicted victims of benevolence
 That holds its nose and forces them to roam,
 Because some hot reformer bids us fell
 The rookeries where the crowded toilers dwell :
 And yet they neither murmur nor dispute,
 For pride—or something better—keeps them mute,

While Christian priests and speculative Jews
 Applaud their patience in the —————

* * * * *

‘ Distinguished by the daily use of Tubs,
 “ The classes ” leave their comfortable clubs,
 Some to slay deer upon the Highland-moors,
 And some to Africa, to shoot the Boers,
 (A sort of deer, these last, who shoot again
 Till those who went to slay, themselves are slain :
 Our ancestors, in mediæval fight,
 Used archery to make their foemen run :
 The Boers, more dangerous by far, unite
 The Longbow to the latest type of gun).

* * * *

‘ The wise depart, the ignorant and base
 Remain, who will not, cannot, leave the place
 Till “ wealth accumulates and men decay ”
 And London grows more hateful, day by day.

‘ More reasons might be given did time allow,
 But not another word I’ll utter now ;
 For the train trembles, and I see the guard
 Raising his arm ; be sure to post a card ;
 Good-night ! Farewell ! be warned in time and go
 By next excursion-train to Westward Ho ! ’

THE QUARTER.

THE past three months have witnessed a transfer of the centre of political interest from South Africa to China, where events have assumed an even more serious complexion than was anticipated when we closed our last retrospect. We shall not attempt to follow in detail the occurrences which have led to Peking being occupied, and the precincts of the forbidden city entered, for the second time by an army of outer Barbarians—one of much more heterogeneous composition on this occasion, it may be added, than on the last. The list of nationalities co-operating in the invasion reminds one of nothing so much as the catalogues given in the inscriptions of those peoples of the Isles and shores of the Mediterranean who, three thousand years ago and more, were wont from time to time to descend upon the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

The course of events—the murders of the Japanese Chancellor and the German Minister, the latter by troops of the Dowager Empress' body-guard, when on the way to a conference at the Tsung-li-Yamen; the investment and bombardment of the foreign settlement at Tientsin by a Chinese army under the personal command of Prince Tuan; the prolonged attack by Boxers and Imperial troops on the legations at Peking; the substitution of anti-foreign for friendly Mandarins in the Tsung-li-Yamen—amply confirm the suspicion entertained from the first that the anti-foreign movement was fomented by the Dowager Empress and her party. The great age of that lady, however, makes it less probable that she should have planned the movement, than that she should have allowed herself—willingly or reluctantly—to be made the tool of some younger and more impetuous spirit. We are disposed, in short, to see, in the Empress Regent only the figure-head, and in Prince Tuan the mainspring of the movement. In its development party and personal motives, of the precise nature of which, however, outsiders have no means of forming an accurate conception, have doubtless, as in most similar cases, played an important part. At the same time it seems to be beyond reasonable doubt that the movement possesses a national character and represents a last despairing effort of the conservative party to roll back the tide of foreign influence which threatens to engulf the old order in China. The series of acts of aggression on the

part of the Powers that followed the close of the Japanese war, notably the seizure by Germany of Kiao-Khao, and, as much as anything else probably, the construction of a Russian railway through the heart of Manchuria, had created a widespread and not unnatural conviction that a determined effort to save the ancient civilisation, if not the independence, of the Empire must be made at once or never.

The Chinese not improbably believed that the mutual jealousies of the Powers would prevent their co-operation; and, had they acted with more politic discrimination, this might have been the case. The cue of Russia has long been to champion Chinese independence and stiffen the backs of the Court party against the other Powers; and there is some reason to think that, had the leaders of the movement, or their instruments, adopted less violent tactics, and at the same time made it clear that Russia was not included among the objects of their hostility, she would have adhered to this policy on the present occasion. But either they had not the astuteness to do this, or they were unable to control the forces they had called into action, and Russia found herself compelled in self-defence to make common cause with the allies.

Her attitude throughout, however, has been of a more or less ambiguous and embarrassing character. But for the obstacle placed by her in the way of such an arrangement, there is every probability that the relief of Tientsin and the legations at Peking would have been greatly expedited by the despatch of an overwhelming Japanese army to the scene of action at an early stage of the disturbances. Though she disavowed all desire to limit the extent to which Japanese aid would be welcome, there is every reason to believe that she refused to consent to the only condition on which, reasonably enough, the Japanese were willing to take on their shoulders the principal part of the burden of bringing China to reason; and eventually, though they bore a conspicuous and gallant part in the operations of the allies, the advance on Peking was so long delayed that it was through little less than a miracle that it was not too late to save the legations, while a large number of lives that might have been saved were sacrificed. No sooner, again, had the legations been rescued, than Russia hastened to emphasise the provisional nature of her co-operation by withdrawing her forces to Tientsin and urging the adoption of a similar course on the other Powers, her only conceivable object in thus detaching herself being to place herself in an advantageous position for making her own terms with China. At the time of writing, it is uncertain whether the Powers will adopt a course which would leave her practically mistress of the situation and be highly damaging to their prestige.

In the meanwhile, though a Commission has been appointed by the Dowager Empress to negotiate terms of peace, its composition is of a kind which shows her hostility to be unabated, and the anti-foreign movement, in spite of the check it has received in the Province of Pechili, continues to spread elsewhere.

The principal events of the war have been the bombardment and destruction of the Taku forts by the allied fleets—British, French, German, Russian and Japanese—on the 17th June, the operation being attended with little loss on the side of the allies, who ultimately stormed the forts; the relief of Tientsin, after several days severe fighting, on the 23rd July; and the capture of the native city three weeks later; the defeat of the Chinese at Peitsang; Yangtsun; Hosi-Wu, and Hsi-ku, and the capture of Pekin by the British, Japanese, Russians and Americans on the afternoon of the 14th August, after a day's bombardment, the Empress Dowager and Prince Tuan having previously made good their escape to Hsian-fu. The British force engaged consisted mainly of Indian troops under the command of General Gaselee. The opposition encountered by them was slight; but the Japanese, who met with an obstinate resistance, suffered heavily. Up-to-date two brigades of Indian troops have landed in China; a third is on its way there, and a fourth has been mobilised, the entire force, including followers, numbering about 30,000. The German Marshal Waldersee has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces by the common consent of the Powers concerned, and is now on his way to China.

The course of events in the Transvaal, though it does not entirely justify the declaration made by President Kruger, after the taking of Pretoria, that the war was just beginning, has been disappointingly slow and inconclusive. The forces on both sides are split up into a number of small commands the manœuvres and counter-manœuvres of which, as reported from day to day in the telegrams, constitute a puzzle beyond the power of the ordinary reader, or, indeed, of the military expert, to unravel. The protraction of the struggle is an inevitable result of the difficult nature of the country, combined with the fact that the Boer forces, though greatly inferior to their pursuers in point of numbers, are incomparably superior to them in the matters of mobility and knowledge of the ground. On the whole, the advantage has been decidedly on the side of the British, though they have suffered several more or less serious reverses, and there is every indication that the end is now only a matter of weeks. Large numbers of the burghers and several of their commanders, including Prinsloo and Olivier, have surrendered; but De Wet, Botha

and Delarey are still at large, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of half a score of Generals to surround and capture them. The most important events of the past few weeks have been the occupation of Belfast, after the key of the enemy's position had been carried by Buller, and subsequently of Machadorp. The main army of the Boers, under General Botha, is now strongly posted, with heavy guns, near Lydenburg, where Buller is confronting him, and any hour may bring news of an important action.

The annexation of the Transvaal, which was proclaimed by Lord Roberts at Belfast on the 1st instant, had long been a foregone conclusion. Why the particular place and moment were selected for the act is not apparent. The proclamation has been made the subject of severe criticism by a section of the Continental Press, which pronounces it unwarranted by the situation and unjustified by international law. It would be interesting to know on what authority the latter allegation rests.

Among the incidents of the last stage of the struggle has been a somewhat hare-brained plot to capture Lord Roberts and murder the British officers at Pretoria, which was discovered at the last moment, and the prime mover in which, one Lieutenant Cordua, having been tried by Court Martial and found guilty of breaking his parole and conspiring for the purposes named, has been condemned to death and shot.

The period under review has been marked by two of those dastardly and senseless outrages against the representatives of constituted authority of which the latter half of the most civilised of the centuries has been so prolific. On the 29th July, Humbert, second King of Italy, was assassinated at Monza, near Milan, when he had just entered his carriage after attending a distribution of prizes in connexion with a gymnastic competition, by an anarchist among the crowd who fired three shots at him from a revolver. His son, the Prince of Naples, who succeeds him under the title of Victor Emmanuel III, signalled his accession by a speech which has been received with enthusiasm in Italy and deservedly created a favourable impression throughout Europe. "When a people has written in the book of history," he said, "a page like that of our *risorgimento*, it has a right to hold high its head and to aspire to the greatest ideals. Holding high my head and aspiring to the greatest ideals, I dedicate myself to my country, with all the warmth, all the vigour within me, all the strength derived for the examples and traditions of my House. To my work will be joined that of my august Consort, who, born of a strong race, will dedicate herself entirely to the country of her adoption. Italy has ever been the efficacious instrument

of concord, and such she will continue to be during my reign in the common interest of the preservation of peace. But external peace suffices not. We need internal peace, and the concord of all men of good will to develop our intellectual forces and our economic energies. Let us educate our generation to the cult of the Fatherland, to honest industry, to the sentiment of honour, to that sentiment wherewith our army and navy are so nobly imbued—our army and navy that come from the people, and are a pledge of the brotherhood which joins in unity and in love of our country the whole Italian family. Let us draw near each other and defend ourselves with the wisdom of the laws and with their strict enforcement. May Monarchy and Parliament go hand in hand in this salutary work. Unabashed and steadfast I ascend the throne, conscious of my rights and my duties as a king. Let Italy have faith in me as I have faith in the destinies of our country, and no human force shall destroy that which, with such self-sacrifice, our fathers builded. It is necessary to keep watch, and to employ every living force to guard intact the great conquests of unity and of liberty. The serenest trust in our liberal charter will never fail me, and I shall not be wanting either in strong initiative or in energy of action in vigorously defending our glorious institutions, precious heritage from our great dead. Brought up in the love of religion and of the Fatherland, I take God to witness of my promise that, from this day forward, I offer my heart, my mind, my life, to the grandeur of our land."

The other instance referred to is an attempt on the life, of the Shah of Persia, when on his way to the Paris Exhibition. His assailant, also an anarchist, sprung on to the Shah's carriage and pointed a revolver at his breast. The Shah, however, succeeded in seizing the man, while the Grand Vizier, who was in the carriage, grasped his wrist and compelled him to drop the revolver.

The debate on the annual statement on Indian Finance, which was made in the House of Commons by Lord George Hamilton on the 26th July, turned chiefly on the question of a grant in relief of the Indian revenue. On this point Lord George Hamilton intimated that, in order to make further provision for coping with the famine, he had made arrangements for the immediate issue of £3,000,000, a part of the unexpended balance of the loan of £10,000,000 which he secured a few years ago. With that and other resources at his disposal he believed he should be able to meet any demands which the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay might make upon him before the end of October. If it should become necessary, he would not hesitate to appeal to the Imperial

Treasury. He stated that the Indian Government had expended in two years in connexion with the famine upwards of £13,000,000, and defended it against the imputation that it had acted in a niggardly fashion. Having paid a warm tribute to the courage and devotion of the officials charged with the duty of combating the famine, he laid before the House his views with regard to the demand which had been made in some quarters for an Imperial grant. He showed that there was no inconsistency in asking the charitable public to subscribe for the relief of the sufferers while refraining from making a demand upon the British Treasury. The conduct of the Indian Government was regulated by the famine code, which made provision for contingencies and was founded on the principle that, while money must not be wasted, everything possible ought to be done to save life. Only in the event of their being unable to give effect to the regulations of the code would the Indian authorities apply for assistance to the Treasury. Indian finance ought, as far as possible, to be made self-supporting and independent, and it was the duty of the Finance Minister to establish an equilibrium between the expenditure and the revenue. That official would have no inducement to put money aside for famine purposes if he knew that when a famine occurred the British Treasury would at once come to his aid. He hoped and believed that, when the present difficulty had passed away, the Government of India would be able to remit taxation. That would be done if stability of exchange could be assured; and another result would be that more capital would be invested in India. Adverting to the recommendation of Lord Welby's Commission that certain charges now borne by the Indian revenue should be paid in future out of the Imperial Treasury, he said that Her Majesty's Government had considered the proposal favourably and hoped in the course of a few months to make arrangements under which an expenditure of £250,000 now borne by the Indian Government would be provided for by the Home Government. Referring to the heavy mortality which, in spite of every effort, had occurred in Gujerat, Lord George Hamilton promised that a Commission of Enquiry should be appointed as soon as the famine was over.

Sir H. Fowler contended that England ought to help her great dependency at the present juncture. Possibly India could do without Imperial assistance, but sympathy and sentiment were strong forces in human affairs, and it was right that we should express our sympathy as a nation with our Eastern fellow-subjects. To vote a grant for the sufferers from the famine would, in his opinion, be one of the wisest things that the Government could do. He drew attention to some of the

recommendations of the Welby Commission, and expressed a hope that the Government would take them into serious consideration. A transfer to the British Exchequer of a military charge amounting to no more than £250,000 would not satisfy the just claim of India to relief. The Indian forces, the Government ought to bear in mind, formed part of our military reserves.

A Resolution, moved by Mr. Souttar and seconded by Sir William Wedderburn, declaring that a large and generous grant ought to be made to India by the House to assist the famine-stricken population was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Balfour, and ultimately rejected by a majority of 112 to 65.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer doubted whether England could be required in the present crisis to increase its taxation or its debt for the benefit of India. In two years we should have added to our National Debt £37,000,000; while the whole net debt of India was not more than £30,000,000. Of course, if a request for assistance came from the Government of India, it would be taken into consideration, whatever the state of our finances might be; but, as a matter of fact, the responsible officials said that assistance was not required. To grant the demand embodied in the motion would be to set a dangerous precedent and would impair the responsibility of the Indian Government.

Mr. Balfour argued that, if the proposal before the House were acceded to, private charity would be superseded by Parliamentary charity, and in future no appeal to the charitable public would be responded to. A precedent of this kind ought not to be set up except in a case of extreme necessity, and it was not pretended that the finances of India were in such a condition as to render her unable, so far as the preservation of life was concerned, to deal with the famine crisis. India did not pretend that she required a special grant. When she was in financial straits and demanded assistance she would obtain it. It would, in his opinion, be suicidal to burden prematurely and unnecessarily the already heavily-burdened finances of this country.

Among members who supported the Resolution were Mr. J. M. Maclean, Mr. Joseph Walton and Sir M. Bohnaggee.

In the House of Lords, the previous week, Lord Northbrook called attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. He expressed a hope that some scheme based on the recommendations of the Commission for the apportionment in future of the charges for troops lent by the British Government to India and by the Government of India to Her Majesty's Government would be adopted.

Further he trusted that the arbitration proposals of the Commission would be acted on, and did not think it too much to ask that eight years arrears on a basis of £300,000 a year should be given to India.

Lord Onslow said the Commission took evidence for upwards of two years, and they afterwards spent something like three years in considering their report. In these circumstances it could hardly be thought unreasonable if Her Majesty's Government had not during the three months which had elapsed since the publication of the report been able to consider it in all its bearings. The most important point in the report related to the apportionment of charges between the Indian Government and the Home Government, and it was to that question that Her Majesty's Government had in the first place devoted their attention. Her Majesty's Government had not yet carefully considered the suggestions made for the settlement of the payments for Indian troops when they were employed beyond the frontiers of India and for the establishment of an arbitration tribunal to consider the differences between the Government of India and the Imperial Government. All these matters were, however, receiving careful consideration on the part of Her Majesty's Government, who desired to treat India, not only equitably, but liberally.

Lord Kimberley did not admit that India was unfairly treated by England. Lord Salisbury expressed his concurrence with Lord Kimberley in repudiating the idea that India had any reason to complain of the treatment she had received. Apart from the question of liberality and generosity of treatment, the matter must be looked upon as one of adjustment of the burden between the taxpayers of the two countries. The common burdens of Empire ought to be borne, as far as possible, according to equal and equitable rule. He did not think we were bound to discharge this or that claim on the part of India because we had discharged a similar claim on the part of our colonies. There was no special call for expenditure which came upon us because we occupied an Imperial position. It was quite true that it depended on England to make the expenditure for the defence of India and the colonies, but it was equally true that she did not incur the expenditure for India as a matter of favour to India, or rather India did not incur the claim of allegiance as a matter of favour and consideration to her. He urged upon those who had to deal with this question to bear in mind that they were not dealing with a bottomless purse.

An important Resolution has been published by the Government of India on the subject of the conditions under

which permission is henceforward to be granted to Native Princes to visit Europe. Hitherto the power of sanctioning such visits has rested with the Local Governments. It is now required that they shall, in all cases, receive the prior sanction of the Government of India. Upon this point the Government of India observe, first, that the repeated absences from India of Native Chiefs should be regarded as a dereliction, and not as a discharge, of public duty; secondly, that the visits of Princes and Chiefs to Europe should meet with encouragement only in cases where the Local Government is convinced that benefit will result from the trip both to the Chief and to his people; that is to say, the criterion of compliance is not to be private convenience, but personal and public advantage; thirdly, in cases where such permission is recommended by the Local Governments and is granted by the Government of India, it is to be understood that, so far from this constituting a ground for an early renewal of the request, it is a reason against it, and that a suitable interval of time should elapse between the return from travel and the submission of a fresh application for leave; lastly, the Resolution states that it should be the business of Local Governments, as it is of the Government of India, in the case of Princes and Chiefs under their direct charge, carefully to watch the effects of foreign travel upon their character and habits, so as to be able to base their future recommendations not only upon general principles, but upon a careful study of the individual case.

They further say that they hold very strongly the opinion that the first and paramount duty of a Native Prince or Chief lies towards his own State and people. By the protection and authority of the Supreme Government he is guaranteed a security of tenure in his exalted station superior to that enjoyed by rulers in any other country in the world, and one which is only sacrificed or impaired by gross misconduct on his part or by some other offence of exceptional gravity. In return for these advantages the Government are entitled to claim that the ruler shall devote his best energies, not to the pursuit of pleasure, nor to the cultivation of absentee interests or amusements, but to the welfare of his own subjects and administration. Such a standard of duty is incompatible with frequent absences from the State, even though these may be represented as inspired by the pursuit of knowledge or by a thirst for civilisation. In proportion as a Chief becomes infected with these tastes and inclinations, so, in many cases, is he apt to be drawn further away from, instead of nearer to, his people. It is not denied that advantages may result to both parties from a widening of the range of knowledge of an intelligent ruler, and from the application to his local adminis-

tration of the lessons acquired in the school of Western experience. Cases have occurred of such felicitous consequences, and the Government of India have no desire, by any revulsion of policy, to preclude or retard their recurrence. But it cannot be denied that such cases are, on the whole, in the minority; that habits of restlessness and extravagance are even more likely to be inculcated in the Oriental mind by a sudden change of environment and by the temptations of European society, than are incentives to duty or aspirations for reform; and that the result of European tours, particularly if too frequently repeated, is more often a collection of expensive furniture in the palace, and of questionable proclivities in the mind of the returned traveller, than an increase in his capacity for public or political service.

Except for the excitement in military circles caused by the despatch of a large Indian force to China, the period under review in India has been uneventful. The monsoon has, after all, turned out generally favourable, the probabilities at the present moment pointing rather to an excess of rainfall than to a deficiency. Agricultural prospects are in most parts of the country, excellent; the numbers of the population on public relief works are rapidly falling off, and of those in receipt of charitable relief more slowly. The number of cases of plague is beginning to show its usual seasonal increase, and has risen from between 200 and 300 to between 600 and 700 a week, the recrudescence of the disease being most marked in the Mysore territory, and especially in the city of Mysore.

In connection with the extension of plague it may be noted that the disease has broken out in Glasgow, where, contrary to recent experience in other parts of the United Kingdom in which cases have occurred, it has shown some tendency to spread. It appears from a recent telegram that the Sanitary authorities of the place have so far departed from the modern English practice in such matters as to enforce a system of isolating contacts, a step which seems to have been attended with the happiest results.

Everything points to an early dissolution of Parliament, the exact time for which will, no doubt, depend upon the course of events during the next few days in South Africa.

Our obituary, besides Humbert, King of Italy, includes the Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, second son of Her Majesty the Queen; the Duke of Wellington; the Grand Duke of Oldenburg; Prince de Joinville; Count Muravieff; Lord Russell of Killomen; Miss Mary Kingsley; Mr. Stephen Crane; Admiral Blomfield; Sir G. A. Parker, late Madras C. S.; Colonel John Rogers, C.B.; Bishop Ryle; Dr. Julius Althaus;

Mrs. Gladstone ; Lord Loch ; Lieutenant-Colonel A. Adams, M.P.; Admiral Maxse ; Major-General Sir F. W. Jephson, C.B.; Sir Charles Sargent ; Major-General Sir C. W. D'Oyly ; Lieutenant-General C. H. Dickens ; Mr. Steinitz ; Surgeon-General D. J. O'Callaghan ; Lieutenant-General Sir W. Drysdale, and Mr. John Nugent, Bo. C.S.

September 10, 1900.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab, for the Agricultural year, 1st October 1898 to 30th September, 1899. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1900.

NO fewer than six of the District Reports reached the office of the Financial Commissioner after 1st January 1900, nevertheless, the Report was received in the Secretariat on the appointed date. During 1897-98, agricultural conditions had been gradually recovering but had not completely done so in the year under review, which was succeeded, before the Report was concluded, by a return to famine. The Monsoon of 1898 was a very insufficient one, beginning only in the middle of July, and, but little rain falling in August and September, there was, much falling off in the crops of two-thirds of the districts of the Province, the inundation canals even failing. Gujrat, which was doing well, suffered in September from a hail-storm which destroyed 28,300 acres of crops, necessitating remissions of land revenue amounting to Rs. 29,407. Throughout the cold weather, 1898-99, there was but a scanty rain-fall in December and March, and this but of partial extent. The area of matured crops was 20,738,687 acres, *i. e.*, 10·7 more than in 1896-97 the worst year of the last ten, and less than in the other eight, excepting 1895-96. The Kharif harvest was 7 and Rabi 10·7 per cent. below normal and the total yield of the year was much below the average. Bajra, rapeseed and grain gave very inferior crops, and only 700,000 acres were sown with cotton, as compared with nearly 1,000,000 in the previous year. Much of the previous year's wheat was exported in the early months; but this was stopped when, in August 1899, the monsoon had failed.

Bad seasons notwithstanding, land irrigation enabled the area of cultivation to be very largely increased during the year. The only important transfer of land was of 605,386 acres of the Sandal Bar from the Montgomery to the Jhang district, which necessitated two additional Tehsils in the latter. An excess of 3,885 masonry wells were constructed, a number only exceeded in 1896-97; *Kacha* wells have been adjudged unsatisfactory save in riverain tracts or as a temporary expedient. The Mooltan district suffered most from rain failure. Half a million acres were deprived of irrigation, of which that district furnished nearly one-third. Although the extent of irrigated land was

so greatly reduced, 43·2 per cent. of the total cultivated area was furnished by it, against a normal percentage of 33·.

Crop statistics would appear to have been insufficiently attested in the Hissar, Rohtak and Jhelum districts. Mutations numbered less than 700,000, as compared with over 736,000 in the previous year, and transfers showed more satisfactorily. Fewer mortgages were redeemed, but at the same time fewer fresh ones, or sales, were effected, and the net area mortgaged was reduced during the year. Still the land area pledged was in excess of the previous year, though in defect as compared with all but one of the six preceding. Money-lenders now advance more freely on less productive land than formerly, which, in conjunction with the fact that the average price of land is now 75 rupees per acres throughout the Province, proves that the land is becoming of greater value. A noticeable fact is the increase of tenants as cultivators, to the diminution of "owners." This may, however, be caused by alienation of land to non-agriculturists. A large increase is also observable in the number kept of sheep, goats, horses, ponies and donkeys, but this may have arisen from more careful enumeration. Camels in the Dera Ismail Khan district have very greatly increased in number, the recent census showing 56,877 as against 18,933, in the previous year, which is not explained. Bulls and bullocks rose to 4,686,636, from 4,254,922. Unfortunately, mortality among animals has also enormously increased.

Nearly 251 lakhs of fixed and fluctuating revenue were collected, compared with 264½ lakhs in the previous year. The decrease of 13½ lakhs is satisfactorily accounted for; the bad harvest of the year will probably necessitate further suspensions of revenue.

Fluctuating land revenue on the Chenab canal continues to increase, while that on other canal irrigated lands has fallen off, resulting in a diminution of total revenue. The defect is caused by diminished river floods and insufficient winter rains. Alluvion yielded an increase of Rs. 28,000 from districts affected by alluvion-diluvion rules. Miscellaneous land revenue benefited by 8½ lakhs from land sales in the Chenab colony, *i. e.*, 6½ lakhs, auction sales, and 2 lakhs *nazrana*: Tirni (grazing tax) was short by 40,000 in the Mooltan and Montgomery districts, reasons not fully explained. The land revenue in 1898-99 is assessed at Rs. 29,94,447, a decrease of Rs. 86,268, attributed to fluctuating assessments and other causes.

Five settlements were in progress during the year; the re-assessment of the Montgomery district was concluded, and Jhelum, Mozuffergarh, Mooltan and Dera Ismail Khan were in an advanced state. Tenants are in demand save in the most

densely populated districts, where owners want all their land to support themselves and families.

The allotments of *takavi* during the financial year 1898-99 are Rs. 371,459, under the "Land Improvement Loans" Act, and Rs. 3,71,600 under the Agriculturists Loans Act, total Rs. 7,43,059, of which nearly three lakhs were apportioned to the Hissar district. Rs. 2,45,908 remained uncollected out of loans amounting to Rs. 5,12,018, and Rs. 1,44,731 were formally suspended.

The total area over which the Government exercises the rights and powers of an ordinary proprietor is 2,036,360 acres, and 4,359,680 acres are still available for cultivation. The income of the above area is Rs. 22,51,113, including 13½ lakhs paid as water rates.

H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor conveys his thanks to Mr. Thorburn and to Mr. Tupper for the manner in which they discharged the duties of Financial Commissioner during the year, and to the latter for his Report; also to the Revenue Officers of the Province for their conduct of the administration.

Report of the Administration of Estates under the Court of Wards in the Panjab for the year ending 30th September 1899.

Published by authority. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1900.

AT the close of the year under report there were 66 estates in charge of the Court of Wards, of which 70 per cent. were estates of Minor Wards and 21 per cent. of persons who have been declared, on their own application, unfit to manage their property. A Bill is in course of preparation under the provisions of which the Court of Wards will be relieved of the charge of a certain number of estates with small incomes, and it is also hoped that it will be possible to utilise a larger proportion of their surplus income in the improvement of estates. In this respect, Mamdot stands prominent, the sum expended for improvements amounting to seven-eighths of the total so disbursed during the year in the entire Province.

At the commencement of the year under review, there were 70 estates under the Court of Wards, of which 10 were released from management during the year, and 6 fresh ones brought under its control. The Total Assets of Estates, exclusive of value of land, stock and houses, at the end of the year, was Rs. 19,60,900. as against Rs. 17,59,913 at the close of the previous twelve months, while outstanding liabilities amounted to Rs. 7,51,614, as compared with Rs. 6,80,610. Assets have thus increased by over 2 lakhs and liabilities by nearly Rs. 71,000, but the total of Rs. 19,60,900 includes over 1 lakh of

rent arrears which, though entered as recoverable, will probably never be collected.

At the commencement of the year under report, Rs. 7,74,528, plus Rs. 182 fresh debts—Rs. 7,74,710, principal, and Rs. 31,456 interest, plus interest on former debts, Rs. 39,411 total interest, Rs. 70,867, were outstanding, of which Rs. 54,565 principal and Rs. 39,398 interest were cleared, leaving balances of Rs. 7,20,845 and Rs. 31,469 respectively ; Rs. 2,122 worth of property, however, had to be sold and Rs. 2,000 raised by fresh loans, current expenses paying the remainder. The outstanding liabilities are thus divided, due to Government on account of *takdvi* and other advances, Rs. 7,875, principal, and Rs. 102; interest to other estates under the Court of Wards, Rs. 1,05,052 ; and Rs. 3,410 interest, the balance, Rs. 6,07,218 principal and Rs. 27,957 interest, being due to private persons. The Babhair Estate (Doshyarpur), is pronounced practically hopeless, and, as soon as a Government loan of 10 years' standing has been recovered, the Court of Wards will probably be relieved of its charge, but all other Estates are stated to be in course of clearance.

It is to be noted that the system of "cash" rents is gradually supplanting that of payment in "kind," which would appear to be a far more satisfactory arrangement. Total Expenditure during the year was Rs. 7,44,631, as against Rs. 7,61,639 in the previous year ; management cost Rs. 82,219, compared with Rs. 97,000, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. against 8 per cent. In over 25 per cent. of estates, either less than $\frac{1}{20}$ of the gross income is spent on management or the cost is met by the Court of Wards' rate. The total amount demanded for this rate was Rs. 20,501, plus Rs. 9,420, outstanding—Rs. 29,921, of which Rs. 9,221 remains uncollected. The total expenditure on improvements was Rs. 83,946, as against Rs. 85,027, out of which Mamdôt alone spent Rs. 60,135 on the up-keep of canals besides Rs. 952 in constructing new wells and Rs. 388 on repairs to old ones.

EDUCATION.—During the year under report, 32 Wards were studying at the Aitchison Chiefs' College, compared with 25 in the previous year. All are progressing satisfactorily. Other Wards are under education in different schools, mostly local.

Report by the Board of Revenue on the Revenue Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the Revenue year 1898-99, ending 30th September 1899. Allahabad. North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1900.

NOT only was the year under review an unfavourable one for the crops, but the outturn also fetched smaller prices,

The rainfall, $47\frac{1}{2}$ inches, would have been ample, but for its unequal distribution; in the eastern districts an excess caused much damage, while in the western, there was practically no rain after the 15th September. The spring harvest was, as a whole, below the average.

Health was good generally. A few slight outbreaks of cholera took place, but there was no other epidemic disease. Mortality among cattle showed an increase, and a few experiments in inoculation were made with promising success. The objections of the people are now, apparently, removed, and the veterinary staff are gradually diffusing useful knowledge; a large increase in the staff is, however, absolutely essential.

There was considerable fluctuation in the prices of food grains during the year, lower rates prevailing during the early part, and a general rise taking place in the latter months. Land Revenue due for 1898-99, amounted to $619\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, as against $614\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in 1897-98, enhancements having been made in Meerut, Bijnor, Budaon and the majority of the Oudh districts: 606 lakhs were collected. The real balance is, however, under 9 lakhs, as more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs are nominal. The Meerut, Agra and Kumaun districts are nearly clear and the balances in Oudh are small, but in Shahjehanpur, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, and in most of the districts of the Allahabad Division, arrears are heavy. In Jaunpore, Azamghar and Shahjehanpur, this is attributed to lax management. Allahabad, which is responsible for two-thirds of the deficit, has suffered with extra severity from unfavourable seasons: it is again on the verge of famine, and relief will have to be given if prospects do not improve. Out of 86 lakhs outstanding at the commencement of the year, 49 lakhs were recovered, and, after allowing for remissions, only 29 lakhs were actually in arrears at the close of the year, plus 13 lakhs uncollected balance from former years.

Rental demand on State properties was increased from Rs. 8,11,575 to Rs. 8,39,191.

The payment of revenue by means of money-orders appears to be looked upon with increasing favour, the only question being as to whether it deleteriously affects the lumberdar's position with his co-sharers.

Suits under the Rent Act increased by 6.29 per cent., or from 116,875 to 124,221: applications fell from 176,827 to 158,860: of the total, 91 per cent. were for arrears of rent. 21.39 per cent. were contested, and in 45.41 per cent judgment was given *ex-parte*: the number of pending cases rose from 5,886 to 6,055; the Agra Division has least, *i.e.*, 3.1 per cent. left undecided, and the lowest average of duration: Benares had 1,556 pending, with an average of over two

months to each contested case, and Ballia took no less than 3 months in each of 319 cases. In 33·70 per cent. cases ejectment of tenants took place, an increase of 1·12 per cent. Rohilkund and Allahabad showing the greatest number, and Meerut and Benares the smallest. There were 3,460 fewer "Applications" in the year under review, and out of the 13,099 pending, 10,393 were complicated cases.

Suits contesting enhancement, ejectment, or for arrears of revenue, increased by 233 and 316 respectively, and those for recovery of occupancy, or levying of distraint, declined 39 and 36 per cent. respectively. The pending file of suits for arrears increased from 1,993 to 2,378, Gonda being responsible for 1,348. In one district enhancements beyond statutory limits were reported, and in one case the rents were reduced after enquiry on part of Government. In 318 additional cases appeals were made to Collectors; 55 per cent. remained unmodified, and there were 23 per cent. of reversals. Appeals to Judges show an excess of 172, and pending cases rose from 1,441 to 1,648. In Commissioners Courts the pending file grew from 1,449 to 1,848 cases. The Board of Revenue had for disposal 3,095 cases, as against 3,761 and decided 3,326 against 3,992, the pending file being reduced from 680 to 429 cases, 10·85 per cent. of orders were modified, as regards the N.-W. P. Courts, and 15·2 from Oudh.

The severer forms of process in revenue collection, such as sale of moveable property after attachment, or annulment of settlement, appear to have been more largely necessary during the past year, the arrears demanded having been Rs. 42,69,940, compared with Rs. 39,56,620; with regard to these processes an anomaly seems to present itself, *i.e.*, that while in the N.-W. P. arrest has to be carried out, in Oudh, a simple "summons" suffices.

An accurate comparison of sales and mortgages appears not to be feasible, as data were disturbed by a revision which was taking place in the Fyzabad district.

Favourable conditions during the major part of the year rendered loans less necessary. Under the Land Improvements Loans Act, Rs. 65,086 instead of Rs. 72,138, and, was lent under the Agriculturists Loans Act, Rs. 1,48,654, in place of Rs. 3,54,100. Recoveries of arrears under the first Act were 70 per cent. and under the latter, 50 per cent., difficulties in the Allahabad Division being mainly responsible for the deficiency.

Six districts and one sub-division reported completion of settlement during the year; in four others the work is approaching conclusion, and in two, assessment has begun.

An area of 3,312 square miles was surveyed and 1,720

Patwaris, 59 Kanungos and 263 Apprentice Kanungos were under training; the Kanungos appear to have attained a satisfactory state of efficiency and the Patwaris are improving, though slowly.

When district reports were written, famine appeared imminent, but the fears entertained proved to a certain extent chimerical owing to an unexpectedly large amount of storage; when prices rose, exports reached unusual dimensions, yet did not cause diminution of necessary stocks. Trade being good, and towards end of year, artificial irrigation works having to be constructed, the labouring classes found ample employment at an appreciable advance of wages. Test works were started in the Agra and Muttra districts, but the population showed that they were not in need of famine wages; and a hand traffic in grass required for Rajputana also furnished employment, the trans-Jumna tracts of Bundelkhand alone not sharing in the general advantages, as they have not yet recovered from the previous year's losses.

Report on the Excise Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 30th September 1899.

Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Government Press, 1900.

THE area supplied by "farmed" distilleries has been considerably curtailed during the year, while that under the "ordinary" distillery system was increased by 1,025 square miles; the change has resulted in a fairly considerable increase of revenue.

The gross receipts shown are, owing to settlement of advances, etc., Rs. 1,43,347 in excess of the real receipts, the latter amounting to Rs. 59,73,691, an increase of Rs. 11,30,383, or 23.34 per cent., on the previous year.

Of the gross demand, Rs. 60,30,188, all but Rs. 22,787 had been collected, and Rs. 11,086 have been subsequently realized; Rs. 514 only will have to be remitted. Real receipts on account of license fees have increased by Rs. 2,17,147, a proof of returning prosperity among the agricultural population.

Still-head duty amounted to Rs. 22,75,633, as compared with Rs. 17,24,342 in the previous year, representing a total consumption of 1,525,138 gallons, as compared with 1,154,252 gallons, stated in terms of London proof, which is the highest recorded since the introduction of the differential scale of duties. The number of distilleries at work was 29, out of which 2 were subsequently closed. Stills within distilleries increased from 457 to 534, owing to greater demand. Issues of proof spirit

rose by 25,199 gallons, but the demand for the lower class has not diminished.

The number of combined stills and shops rose by 127, while the farming system shops fell by 45 ; an excess of Rs. 1,03,594 being netted. The consumption of Rosa rum again slightly increased, but it is not sold much outside the larger cities.

Real receipts from license fees for sale of hemp drugs amounted to Rs. 6,76,849, an increase of Rs. 1,26,122, or 22.90 per cent. Duty payments reached Rs. 3,19,091, an excess of Rs. 56,894—21.70 per cent. The noxious drug, "Charas," appears to be supplanting Ganja, on account of its more easy acquirement. Opium seems to be practically stationary, but an increased income may be expected from license fees ; Tari appears also to be unaltered. Malt liquor income has increased by 78.8 per cent., chiefly owing to exemption of the Commissariat Department from duty.

Prosecutions for breaches of the various Excise Acts have generally increased, cases being 291 in excess, and offences being chiefly respecting hemp drugs, *i. e.*, the smuggling in of Ganja from Native States. The Excise Administration cost the Province Rs. 1,04,846 for the year, being Rs. 11,046, or 11.77 per cent. in excess of 1897-98. The largest items of increase were Rs. 7,569 under the heading of Refunds; Rs. 3,545, Rewards, and Rs. 1,281, District Establishment. Rs. 14,099 was actually disbursed in rewards, but the difference between that sum and Rs. 3,545 was realized from fines inflicted for offences under the Act.

The amount of Refunds was greatly swollen by the return to an unsuccessful bidder for the city shops in Cawnpore, of the sum of Rs. 12,125 which had been advanced by him. Rs. 3,569 was expended on original works and Rs. 6,067 on repairs, during the financial year. The net Excise revenue amounted to Rs. 1,223 per 10,000, as compared with Rs. 984 in the preceding year, and the average annual expenditure per head of the population was about 2 annas. The Commissioner of Excise makes favourable mention of the following officers under his control :—Collectors : Messrs. Trethewy, Ferard, Wyndham, Mardon, Piggott, Bell, Cox, Robarts, and Morris ; Excise Officers : Messrs. Edwards, F. D. Simpson, G. R. Clark, Berthoud, Balfour, J. Campbell, J. C. Smith, Raw, P. Baldeo Parshad, Shaikh Mahammed Wasi and Chandri Maharaj Singh ; Kazi Azizuddin Ahmed, M. Ganga Sahay and P. Janardhan Jorhi are commended for reports.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Story of the Surname of Beatson. Compiled by Surgeon-General W. B. Beatson, late Deputy Surgeon-General, Her Majesty's Indian Army, Lahore Division. Reprinted from the *Genealogical Magazine* (revised and corrected). London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E. C. 1900.

THE curious in Scottish genealogy—a category which probably includes the great majority of Scots—will find abundant matter of interest in the account given by the author of the ancient origin and early fortunes—largely, by the way, misfortunes—of the Baties and Batiesonns, associated patronymics which soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century were replaced by the Beattie and Beatson of later times. The interest of the general reader in the history of the clan will probably be co-ordinate with the careers of the many descendants of James Baitson, or Betson, of Balbairdie, or, as he was designated on his monument at Kinghorne, after later acquisitions, of Kilrie, who have served, and many of whom, we are happy to say, still “continue to serve, the Crown with energy and distinction as officers in the British and Indian armies.”

Before speaking of these, however, we may note, as a fact of etymological interest, that the name *Bat*, or *Batie*, is a derivative of Bartholomew, and became established as a personal name in Scotland at an undetermined, but very remote, date ; while the surname of Batiesonn, or Beteson, is certainly as old as A. D. 1448, when a certain Willelmus Beteson, as appears from the will and inventory of Thomas Martin, Canon Residentiary of York, was “Camerarius ecclesie Cathedralis Eboriensis ut proterminis Sancte Martini.” In the latter half of the sixteenth century, it may be added, the Bates clan was utterly broken up, “its members scattered, outlawed and persecuted by their own countrymen,” under circumstances into which we need not enter here, and its last reputed principals were slain in 1604.

To return to the Beatsons of later days, or, at least, to the descendants of James Betson of Kilrie, aforementioned, their achievements bespeak a racial vigour which persecution was powerless to extinguish. Indeed, it may be questioned whether any name has figured at once more frequently and more honourably in National or Anglo-Indian history. To begin with there was Alexander Beatson, the second son of Robert Beatson Esq., sixth Laird of Kilrie, who, born at Dundee in 1759,

obtained a Cadetship in the Honourable East India Company's service in 1775 ; who performed scientific and military services of the greatest value and was responsible for the plan of campaign and final attack which resulted in the capture of Seringapatam in 1799. Eight years later, after he had retired to England with the intention of settling there, he was invited by the Court of Directors to undertake the Government of St. Helena, which they had determined to reform, a task in which he was conspicuously successful.

The elder brother of this distinguished officer, Robert Beatson, again, served for many years in the Royal Engineers and planned the Fort of Goree on the Coast of Africa. He had four sons, two of whom, Alexander and William Ferguson, entered the military service of the East India Company. Major-General William Ferguson Beatson fought in the campaign in Arracan in the first Burmah War ; and with the British Auxiliary Force in Spain, under Lieutenant-General Sir DeLacy Evans, for which service he was created a Knight of St. Ferdinand. "Returning to India in 1837," proceeds the narrative, "he raised in Bundelcund a force of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and with it besieged and captured the fortresses of Jigree and Chirgong, held by refractory Arabs and Rohillas, and effectually subdued the spirit of revolt in those districts.

"In 1844, when Sir Charles Napier commanded in Scinde, and several regiments in the Bengal Army refused to proceed to that newly-conquered province on field service, the Bundelcund Legion, under Brigadier Beatson, although only a local corps and raised for particular service within certain limits, to a man volunteered to proceed to Scinde and serve there. The Government of India readily accepted the services of Brigadier Beatson and the corps under his command. On completion of their service in Scinde, the whole corps was transferred to the regular army of Bengal, and Brigadier Beatson was informed by the highest authority in India that the "Government felt grateful for the services of his noble legion."

"He was soon afterwards appointed Brigadier commanding the Nizam's Cavalry Division. A revolt having broken out in the Nizam's dominions in 1851, Brigadier Beatson took the field, with a well-appointed force of all arms, and soon besieged and reduced the fortresses of Raee Mhow and Dharoor, both mounted with heavy guns and defended by Arabs and Rohillas, the most desperate and warlike classes of people in India. For these actions, and several others in which he commanded, Brigadier Beatson received the thanks of the Government of India and of the Nizam. In the beginning of 1853 he volunteered for service at the seat of war on the Danube, and there commanded the Bashi-Bazouks of Omar Pasha's army, and

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was subsequently present at the battles of Inkerman and Balaclava, on the staff of General Scarlett, commanding the British Heavy Cavalry. At the end of the Crimean War he received the medal with three clasps, for Balaclava, Inkerman, and Sebastopol, and also the Sultan's gold medal for the Danube campaign, together with complimentary letters from Lords Stratford de Redcliffe, the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, K.G., and Lord Panmure."

Turning to the Vicarsgrange branch of the family, Robert Beatson served for some time in the army, but eventually devoted himself to literature, and was the author of many valuable works, including "Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to 1783."

George Stewart Beatson entered the army Medical Department in 1838 and rose to the highest rank in the service.

In the autumn of 1854, in conjunction with General Sir Henry Storks, he organized the Military Hospital at Smyrna. He subsequently served in Turkey and in the Crimea. In 1865 he was appointed Honorary Physician to Her Majesty, and in 1869 received the distinction of Companion of the Bath. During his first tenure of office as Principal Medical Officer to the British Forces in India (1863 to 1868), Dr. Beatson effected many valuable reforms, and proved himself to be a most painstaking and zealous servant of the State and a true friend to the British soldier. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the Government were first forced to see the necessity of largely augmenting barrack space and of accommodating a larger number of British troops in the Himalayan and other ranges of hills; and to him mainly is the European soldier indebted for the many comforts he enjoys in his barrack-room, as well as in his hospital. The following notification regarding him appeared in the *Gazette of India*:

"FORT WILLIAM, June 9, 1874.—His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has received with much regret intelligence of the death, at Simla, on the 7th instant, of Surgeon-General G. S. Beatson, M.D., C.B. Dr. Beatson had twice, in the course of a long and honourable career, filled the highest post in the British Medical Service in India, with credit to himself and advantage to the State, and the Government of India sincerely lament the loss of this valuable public servant."

Roger Stewart Beatson, brother of the above, rose to Major-General in the Royal Engineers and served with distinction in England, Malta, Canada and New Zealand.

Another brother, John Fullarton Beatson, entered the Indian Medical Service in 1843; served in the Sutlej and Punjab Campaigns and throughout the mutiny, and became Surgeon-General of the Bengal Medical Department.

Surgeon-General G. S. Beatson, already mentioned, left four sons, whose names appear in the latest British and Indian Army Lists.

William Stuart Beatson of the Glasmont branch was a Lieutenant-Colonel in, and Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army; and

his son, William Stuart Beatson, as Captain in the Bengal Army, was Adjutant-General of Sir Henry Havelock's force and died the day after the battle of Cawnpore.

Before the fight began he was stricken by mortal disease, and was powerless to sit his horse; but, dying as he was, he could not consent to lose his chance of taking part in the great act of retribution, so he placed himself upon a tumbril, and was carried into action; and as dear life was passing away from him, his failing heart pulsed with great throbs of victory.*

Eight Beatsons, it may be added, still remain on the Indian and Royal Army Lists; *vide*—

INDIAN ARMY LIST:

Beatson, A. B., Major-General.

Beatson, C. A., Lieutenant-Colonel.

Beatson, E. B., 2nd Lieutenant.

Beatson, S. B., Colonel, etc.

Beatson, W. B., Surgeon-General.

Beatson, W. A. J., Major, R.A.

ROYAL ARMY LIST.

Beatson, F. C., Major, 2nd in command, Duke of Edinburgh's Wiltshire Regiment.

Beatson, G. T., Volunteer, Medical Staff Corps, Scottish District, Glasgow, Surgeon-Captain in command.

* "History of the Sepoys Mutiny in 1857-58," by Sir John Wm. Kaye, B.A. &c. vol. ii., pp. 378-389.

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